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Sharp, John, 1645-1714.

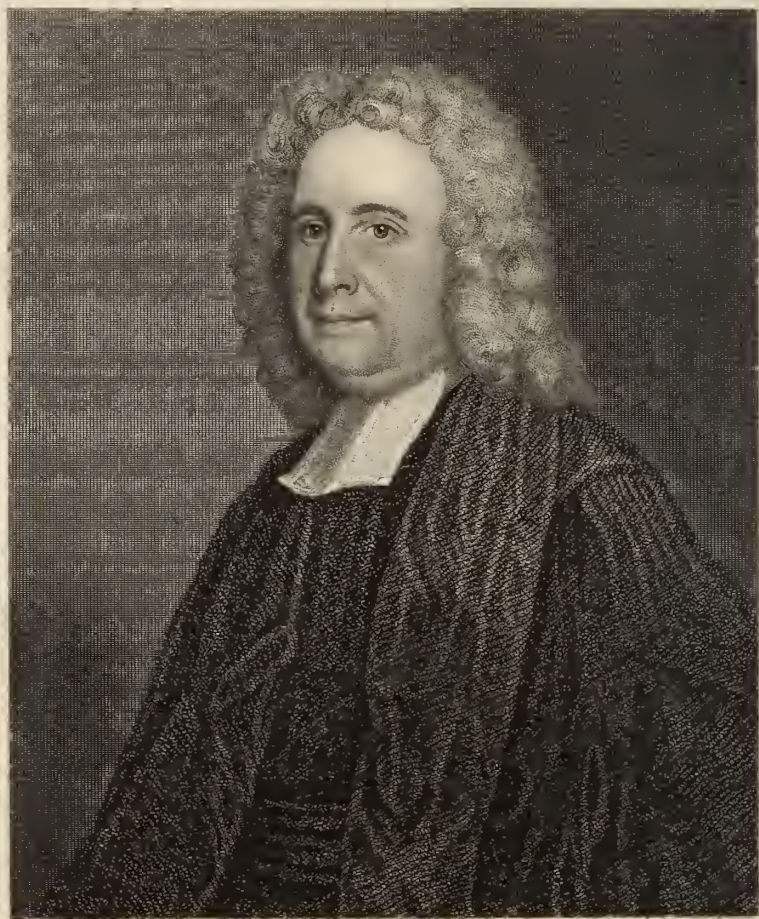
The life of John Sharp, D.D

, Lord Archbishop of York

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THOMAS SHARP, D. D.

Archdeacon of Northumberland,

Rebendary of Durham,

Born 1693—Died 1758.

THE

L I F E

OF


JOHN SHARP, D.D.

LORD ARCHBISHOP OF YORK.

TO WHICH ARE ADDED,
SELECT, ORIGINAL, AND COPIES OF ORIGINAL PAPERS,
IN THREE APPENDIXES.



COLLECTED

FROM HIS DIARY, LETTERS, AND SEVERAL OTHER AUTHENTIC TESTIMONIES, BY HIS SON,

THOMAS SHARP, D.D.

ARCHDEACON OF NORTHUMBERLAND;
PREBENDARY OF YORK, DURHAM, AND SOUTHWELL; RECTOR OF ROTHBURY.



EDITED BY

THOMAS NEWCOME, M.A.

RECTOR OF SHENLEY, HERTS; AND VICAR OF TOTTENHAM, MIDDLESEX.



IN TWO VOLUMES.

VOL. I.



LONDON:

PRINTED FOR C. AND J. RIVINGTON,

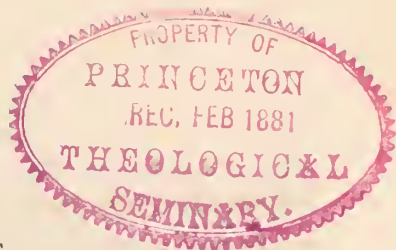
ST. PAUL'S CHURCH-YARD,

AND WATERLOO-PLACE, PALL-MALL.

1825.

LONDON :

PRINTED BY R. GILBERT,
ST. JOHN'S SQUARE.



THE
AUTHOR'S PREFACE.

MEMOIRS of the Lives of great and good men have generally met with a favourable reception in the world, partly from the acknowledged usefulness of such kind of writings, and partly from a curiosity natural to many people, which invites them to examine the actions and characters of those, who, when alive, drew the notice of the public upon them.

And as our country is intitled to its share of honour, in having produced many persons eminent in all faculties, whose memorable virtues, learning, and public labours have deserved to be transmitted to posterity; so it is some further credit to it, that justice has usually been done to their merits by the pens of their survivors, which, after the public have been deprived of their personal services, have kept their characters alive for the instruction and

improvement, as well as entertainment of those that come after them.

Some of our divines, whose piety and learning were conspicuous in the age in which they lived, have been thought in succession deserving of such posthumous respects, and have accordingly received them. Among these, Dr. JOHN SHARP was considerable in his own time, and hath as good a claim as any of his contemporaries, to be redeemed from oblivion, to be remembered with honour, and to have his portion in that sort of life which Memoirs, faithfully collected and published, are wont to give and preserve in succeeding ages.

The undertaking took its rise from a little design, the only one at first conceived, of extracting out of the Archbishop's Diary so much only as related to his spiritual or interior life; and from the belief, that a view of him in his daily and more secret acts of religion might be of use to as many as it was then designed should be intrusted with the perusal of it; and particularly that it might prove a *most instructive lesson* to the Archbishop's grandchildren, who,

it was natural to think, would receive a stronger and more effectual impression of an imitable pattern of piety, when the ideas of it were conveyed in perpetual association with those of the person and character of so near a relation. This, therefore, it was proposed, should be lodged in their hands, as a private memorial; to be preserved as an Heir Loom in the family, without thoughts of making it public.

But in the prosecution of this as yet narrow design, so many things offered themselves for the enlarging it, and making the pattern more complete, viz. the *principles* by which he conducted himself in all parts of life, the inviolable *integrity* that regulated and reigned in all he said or did, and the noble *simplicity* which shone in his whole conversation and deportment, in which respects also he seemed an example as fit to be propounded to his descendants, and with as promising an influence upon them, as in his private exercise of religion above mentioned, that these also, together with his other social virtues, found place in the scheme; and being taken in, they either

involved in them, or naturally drew after them, several facts, some of which were the most remarkable actions or passages of his life. So that in short, by an unexpected increase of materials, by the perusal of several original papers, which at first were neglected, and by the additions of one sort or other, that were made by the assistance of those friends to whom some of the executed parts of the plan were communicated, the draught advanced, and grew by degrees to the size and shape in which it now appears. Insomuch that *what was the first and sole design* is now become the last and the least part of the whole work.

If the method into which it is thrown be thought not altogether so uniform and exact, as is sometimes found in books of this kind, it ought to be remembered that the disposition and arrangement of the several parts would be best directed by the materials themselves, in subservience to the main design of the compiler, which was to put them together in such a way as would best serve towards giving a clear and just idea of the man who is described

or represented *in all the parts of his life*. This was the thing that was principally aimed at; and this end, it is hoped, is in good measure attained.

As the *diary* is the foundation and chief support of the whole undertaking, it seems necessary to give the reader a particular account of it, and to acquaint him how far it is, and how far it is not made use of.

It was begun by the Archbishop in 1691, soon after his consecration. He first drew up a short account of the most material things which had ever happened to him, till that time, which was either done upon *memory*, or was a collection and transcript of several *memorandums*, occasionally taken by himself in the course of his life. And it is from hence that the most considerable things in the *first part* of the following work are taken.

This summary account of himself, till he became Archbishop, was from thenceforward carried on with some exactness and particularity, by additions made to it *weekly*, of such things as he thought proper to keep notes of.

And in this way he continued all King William's reign. But soon after the accession of Queen Anne, when he began to have constant access to her, and more business upon his hands, especially while he resided at London, his memorandums grew more frequent and particular, and he kept, instead of the *weekly* account, a *proper diary or journal*, which, from the year 1702 to 1713 (the eleven last years of his life), makes up five volumes 4to. in *his own shorthand*. By which the variety of its contents may be in some measure guessed at.

That great use has been made of it in the following work (and especially in the *third and fourth parts of it*), will be observed in a great number of particulars, which could not possibly have been remembered, or known so many years after his death, had they not been found under his own hand. But how requisite it was to use the liberty of quoting from thence with caution, will appear from the design he had in keeping such a diary, and the use he himself proposed in doing so.

Nothing is more manifest from it, than that

it was intended purely for his own private use, without the least view or thought, that any part of it should hereafter be made public. And had it not been for the two great advantages of his short-hand, viz. the secrecy and the swiftness of it, it can hardly be conceived he should have noted down such minute particulars, and so many of them as he has done.

The *principal end* that he seems to have proposed to himself in it was a *religious one*, and had respect only to the improvement of himself and the peace of his own conscience. For he is upon no one article so constantly exact and particular, as in setting down his public and private exercises of devotion; where and in what manner he performed them; and in what frame and temper of mind he was in towards God and another world. And the use that he made of his diary in this respect will appear in the fourth and last part, wherein his private religious life is considered.

Another end to which he made it serve was *ecclesiastical*. It was in this respect a kind of /

register of the business dispatched by him as Archbishop. And as such it takes in the state of affairs in his diocese and province; the characters and talents of his clergy; their admissions, promotions, proceedings, difficulties, &c. And under this head several things relate to the laity too, who lived within his jurisdiction.

It is owing to the mention of these particulars in the diary, that the *second part* (where he is considered in his episcopal capacity) is so complete as it is.

As to affairs of state, and the proceedings in the Court and Parliament, he was wont punctually to put down his own share in them, so far as he took any share upon himself, but seldom more. For he doth not seem to have had the least thought of making historical collections, or treasuring up any memorandums of public transactions, in which he had no personal concern.

So that as to court politics and councils, with the issues of them; changes of administration, and practices of the ministry, with the reflections on them, and the intrigues of parties striving to supplant each other, with the success

of them, and the like points of more general concernment, *which almost engrossed the attention of the public then*, and remain subjects of speculation to this day, he made no other mention of them than what was cursory and occasional; that is, when they had some connexion or affinity with the special business in hand, of which he was making minutes. This branch of his diary, therefore, consists principally of these articles; his votes in the House of Peers upon all occasions; sometimes with the reasons of them assigned; the heads of his speeches there; his application to the Queen and her ministers, chiefly for Church preferments to be given to those of the clergy he judged the most worthy, and objections made against them whom he took to be less deserving; private petitions to the Crown, passing through his hands, with her Majesty's respective answers to them. The whole course of business that he dispatched as her almoner; with relations, here and there interspersed, of private discourses with her Majesty, rarely political, more frequently religious. The entries

he made of these several particulars, furnish the chief materials for the *third part* of this work, wherein his conduct at court and in parliament, is considered.

Another end to which he made his diary serve, was to *preserve his fidelity in his promises*; to which he was always very punctual. Wherever he engaged his word or his interest, though for the smallest favour, (and, considering his station, and particular office at court, it may be easily guessed how he was pressed with petitions and solicitations), he made his memorandum of it, and set a *particular mark of remembrance upon it*. And he generally put down the very words or manner, in which he had engaged himself by promise to any person, in which he always appears to have been extremely cautious that his words should not be interpreted to extend further than he himself really designed to perform them.

And, lastly, he would sometimes set down what he had said in conversation in mixt companies, especially when the discourse had turned upon public affairs; and sometimes what was

said to him by others on the like occasions. But these things seem rather to have slipped accidentally into his diary, than to have been designed for any particular use; for, they occur but seldom, and when they do, it is hard to say for what reasons.

Thus it is compounded of as great a variety of materials as that of the different sorts of business or actions in which he was engaged; and they lie intermixed and blended together in all that irregularity and seeming incoherence, which must be expected in an account of things, independent of each other, and yet immediately succeeding each other in order of time.

From this general description of it, it is obvious to collect what was his intention in beginning and continuing it. One thing, at least, is manifest, that it was solely calculated for his own private and particular use: and, therefore, in selecting passages from thence in subserviency to another design, and that of a public nature too, some care and discretion was to be used.

To readers no ways interested in the subject, and absolute strangers both to him and his affairs,

far the greatest part consisting of common and daily occurrences, must have appeared trifling and insignificant; and as to some other things, neither altogether unworthy of their notice, nor likely to prove unacceptable to them, there are yet *good reasons why they should not be indiscriminately produced and divulged*. Such passages, for instance, ought to be suppressed, as, if published, would bear hard upon the characters of other persons, whether now living or dead. For it was the furthest from his thoughts when he inserted any thing of this kind, either from his own observation or from the relation of others, that his authority should be vouched, or his notes made, in any wise, instrumental into conveying evil or suspicious reports. He abominated scandal, and giving of characters, as much as any man alive, and was always wont, notwithstanding his frank and undisguised temper, to speak very warily and tenderly of every thing that touched another's credit and reputation. This bane, therefore, and reproach, of all secret histories, it is hoped, is so far avoided here, that nobody shall have reason to be offended.

The rule, then, which was laid down and pursued, with respect to the choice or suppression of what the diary afforded, was this: to extract from thence no more than was apparently conducive to one or other of these ends, viz. either to the connecting some parts of this life together, and adjusting the series of his actions and writings in proper order of time; or to the clearing up and explaining the more remarkable matters of fact that occur in this account; or to the proving and confirming what is said of his sentiments and principles in politics; or to the giving him his just and true character in all parts of life, and *disproving whatever hath been falsely reported of him*, either by those who knew him not, or those who would not judge the most favourably of him, through the prejudice of party.

Thus far, it is apprehended, no exceptions ought to be taken against the use made of his private comment. For, supposing it to be never so solemnly devoted to secrecy, it may be decently and unblameably appealed to, and quoted for the establishing truth, and detecting false-

hood and mistakes, and vindicating and doing justice to him, who had the sole right and property in it. And, further than this, no man has a right to make use of the MS. Diary, whatever property he may claim in the possession of it.

It may seem, indeed, *to be a question*, how far it is honourable or respectful to his memory, not to suppress totally that part of the MS. which relates to his private devotions and communication with God, and his daily exercises and essays to improve in all piety and virtue, which he designed should be known to none but to God and his own conscience. But to this it may be said, that although to have done thus, purely to gratify the curiosity of men, or to enlarge the history, had not been so easily pardonable, yet, when it is done with a view to the real benefit of all who shall peruse it, as a probable means of making them better, the candid and serious reader will scarcely censure it as a fault. It does not imply the least diminution of those respects which are due to his character, to represent him as being, what every one would wish to be, *a sincerely religious*

and devout man. It is that part of his life and character which was most properly his own, as being the most independent of all the changes and circumstances of human affairs: and *if it is unusual* to be met with in the lives which are published of private persons, it is for this reason only, because the writers of those lives could have no ground or handle of considering their subject in this particular view, for want of such materials as are afforded in this case. Something, indeed, of this nature, is to be met with in the Life of Dr. John Forbes, an eminent and celebrated Scotch Divine, published before his works at Amsterdam, 1703. He had kept a kind of journal of his spiritual life, and of that only, for several years, which the editor of his works, Dr. John Garden, translated into Latin, and published under this title, *Johannis Forbesii a Corse Vitæ Interioris sive exercitiorum Spirituum Commentaria.* But his pains were better laid out, in extracting out of this Commentary so much, and so much only, as was necessary to give his reader a true notion of the devotional part of Dr. Forbes's life, which he entitled *Vitæ*

Forbesianæ Interioris Idea Brevis. Now, it is in imitation of this tract of Dr. Garden's, that a sketch only, or general draught, of Dr. Sharp's spiritual life, is presented to the world, formed from his diary, and supported with no more express testimonies produced from thence, than what seemed necessary to prove it genuine and true. Hereby the reader is relieved from those repetitions which are unavoidable in a journal of spiritual exercises, and likewise gains both as much satisfaction and as much benefit by a partial view, as he could have got by perusing the whole.

If it be considered into what times we are fallen, in which it is by many insinuated, that the *Christian Religion is an imposture, and the teachers of it a tribe of hypocrites*, who outwardly practise it, and labour to defend it, out of a principle of worldly interest, and not from a real sense and thorough conviction of its being what they would publicly teach it to be; it cannot be judged an improper season to bring this secret part of the Archbishop's life upon the stage. Not as if he were a singular, or even

rare instance, of the power of godliness, and of the influence and efficacy of the Christian Religion, upon the minds and hearts of those who truly believe the Gospel; (for, there are as many instances of this as there are good Christians in the world, though it seldom happens *that the same kind of evidence can be had for their being so, that is here produced in his case;*) but as a new and fresh instance of that private divine life, which is peculiar to the most exemplary men, and of the extraordinary comforts and pleasures they are wont to take, in their frequent, though secret correspondences, with Heaven. When the exterior and interior life are found to tally so exactly, they confirm and bear witness to each other, as well as to the truth and sufficiency of the religion, or institution, from whence they are derived; and are *an internal proof of the certainty, as well as an external evidence of the excellency, of the Christian Revelation.*

All that remains for the reader to be apprized of, is, that all the matters of fact which are reported in the following sheets, are either taken

from the diary, or from other evidences of equal authority with it. And as to the reflections which he will find here and there interspersed, though very sparingly, he may judge of them as he pleases : they are the compilers, and do not belong to the Archbishop.

In material points, which depend wholly on the testimony of the diary, it is for the most part expressly quoted, as will be seen in the third and fourth parts. But it is not always referred to in other matters, for which there is other collateral proof.

The several *original letters*, and copies of originals, wrote by and to the Archbishop, which are inserted at length, in different parts of the book, and the original papers, of several sorts, which are either scattered up and down in the body of the work, or collected into the appendixes, must speak for themselves. If they be thought superfluous, they may be passed over. If proper, the reader is welcome to them. There are, indeed, more of this sort, than are usually to be met with in the lives of private men, already published ; but the authority and

sanction they give to the narrative, would, it was thought, make a sufficient excuse for their number. And, indeed, the design of intermixing so many of his own letters, was not only to give light, but credit too, to the whole performance. They are generally brought in as testimonies to the truth of the account, either to support matters of fact, as they are here related, or to stand for specimens of his temper and spirit, as they are here described; or to vouch for his principles in Church and State, as they are here laid down. And of those letters that were wrote to him, no more is made public than what was necessary to the making what is said of himself the more authentic.

The compiler, indeed, of this work, was, in justice to the Archbishop's correspondents, very scrupulous on that article, and very sparing in embellishing his work with original letters, when he might have done it, such was his opportunity, with a liberal hand, had it been consistent with the honour and respect due to them.

In short, there is nothing of moment, through-

out the whole work, for which an authentic proof could be produced, but is backed with such testimony ; which, though it may make the relation appear something more tedious, yet it will help considerably to take off the prejudice that men commonly have against works of this kind, from the supposition, that the writers of them are too much biassed, either by affection or gratitude, or both, and thereby tempted to amplify things beyond their due measure and extent, in order to make the person they would describe, appear in the greatest form and figure, and most advantageous light that is possible. When an intimate friend or near relation takes such a work in hand, although he knows, (as Bishop Burnet observes, in his preface to his Life of Bishop Bedell), *that lives must be written with the strictness of a severe historian, and not helped up with rhetoric and invention, which will incline men to suspect his partiality, and make them look upon him as an author, rather than a writer ;* yet he may find it a difficult matter to prevent his overstraining some points, or tincturing others with the colours in which they appear to his own eye ;

that is, he will scarce forbear shewing his own great kindness for the memory of the man whom he recommends, and will not leave him wholly to the praise of things themselves, without bestowing some good words of his own upon him. But now this defect through private esteem and friendship, if it be really such, or if the reader shall fancy he discovers it in the present undertaking, it is hoped he will consider is in great measure, if not completely supplied, by the number of *vouchers and testimonies**, that are faithfully brought to support what is advanced, (especially in the more significant and material passages that occur); and the more of these there be, the more the reader is secured: nor can he greatly err in distinguishing between that

* Mr. Skinner, in his preface to "Annals of Scottish Episcopacy," observes, in reference to himself, as the son and biographer of Bishop Skinner, that no son is competent to give a fair, just, and acceptable account of *a father's life*, character, and official conduct, if he do not confine himself to written documents, which serve not only to confirm the truth of his narrative, but for the reader's correction of the filial partiality of the author.—*Editor*.

which is sufficiently supported, and that which is given him for granted.

The writer has this, however, to say, in behalf of himself, and of this attempt to draw the true character of Dr. John Sharp, that how imperfect and unfinished soever the piece may seem, the outlines and main strokes are just, being so taken from the original, as hardly to be capable of suffering by the unsteadiness of the hand that copies. And as to the disposal of the colours, and lights, and shades, in which something must be allowed to fancy, which naturally would act a kind part, there is yet this justice done throughout the whole, that nothing is either falsified or knowingly disguised.

ADVERTISEMENT.

THE Editor of the following work has the happiness to number amongst his friends Mrs. Andrew Boulton Sharp, wife of the Rev. Andrew Boulton Sharp, of Bamborough, in Northumberland, and daughter to his excellent neighbour, Mrs. Sharp, of Clare Hall, Hertfordshire.

This lady is great grand-daughter to Dr. John Sharp, Archbishop of York, and sole heir of both the name and blood of Sharp, niece to Dr. John Sharp, Archdeacon of Northumberland, of William Sharp, of Fulham, the late eminent Surgeon, and of the far-known and well-known Granville Sharp, the late worthy sons of Dr. Thomas Sharp, author of "Charges on the Rubric of the Common Prayer," printed in

1753, and of this Life of his Father, now first presented to the public. To the kind permission of these friends, is owing the present publication. Having traced his title to, and the authenticity of, the MS. Life, the Editor has only to declare, that he has faithfully executed his office. He expects, indeed, that, in the opinion of some persons, he will deserve censure for having too faithfully published the whole of the MS. history, just as the author intended to give it to the public many years ago, without suppressing any portion of those passages of the Archbishop's *private life*, which his own hand alone could have recorded. It is true that scoffers and enthusiasts may make a bad use of the passages alluded to ; but he has not deemed this liability to abuse a sufficient reason for withholding from the more candid and judicious reader, that ingenuous confession of private feeling and of human infirmity, which characterises the good and great of all ages, and gives to autobiography the highest charm and strongest test of truth. As to his motives for publishing the work, they are these, and none other. First

and principally, to aid the founding a Chapel of Ease at London Colney in Hertfordshire, by appropriating the profit, if any, to furthering that object of his aim and wishes; and so, the good Archbishop and the Author, “being dead,” shall yet work in their vocation and wonted course,—in deeds of piety, charity, and public spirit.—Secondly, to do justice to the name of an honest man, “the noblest work of God:”—for although “the righteous are had in everlasting remembrance,” far preferable to any human and mortal memorial, yet as we inscribe tombs to the dead for the sake of the living, so a book is a monument more lasting than brass, “*ære perenniùs*;” as the brazen effigies, long since stolen or strayed from chancelled tombstone of abbot, knight, or squire, will oftentimes testify to the men of this generation.—Thirdly, to gratify, and not alone to gratify, but to edify also the reader, by imparting to him the same pleasure and profit which the Editor has himself derived from the unreserved perusal of a work, which he believes few living persons have seen in MS. besides the present Bishop of London,

the Lord Stowell, and Prince Hoare, Esq. the author of the *Life of Granville Sharp*.

Such were his motives for publishing the work at this time ; and such the Editor offers as his excuse also for keeping in his own hands the risk and responsibility of the editorial office, from which another and abler editor might have fairly proposed and acquired to himself some personal reputation. To this he makes no pretension, having, in truth, been so interrupted in the course of his voluntary task, by several events of no ordinary occurrence in the life of a country clergyman and magistrate, and by cares of too ordinary occurrence in the bosom of most large families, as to have had neither time to add much of note or comment in order to illustrate his author, nor yet inclination to attempt to illustrate himself. But in defect of these less valuable additions, in the third Appendix, the reader will find letters of the late Granville Sharp and other eminent persons, elucidatory of the attempt to introduce the English Liturgy into the kingdom of Prussia ; which object this publication may tend to re-

vive and to promote in these more favourable times; and the English, Prussian, and Hanoverian people, who have fought as allies at “La Belle Alliance,” may yet worship in more holy alliance—in the “Beauty of Holiness,” “and in the bond of peace.”

To the same generous friends before referred to, the Editor owes the loan of many letters from which he has made this selection, and also the engraving, at their expense, of Dr. Thomas Sharp, the author, some brief notices of whom will be found among the *addenda*, extracted from “Nichols’s Literary Anecdotes of the Eighteenth Century.” In Coles’s Collections for an Athenæ Cantabrigienses, he found many references to printed works; but nothing, both new and material, such as the Editor deemed worthy of republishing, after the lapse of so long a time since this most worthy Archdeacon’s decease. He has, however, given Coles’s notes and references as to the Archbishop, and the Archdeacon, Dr. Thomas Sharp.—From a MS. left by the latter he has given to the public his sentiments on a

scheme submitted to him for a Protestant Convent; and, as an apt conclusion of the whole, “Monumental Inscriptions of the Family of Sharp.”

Mr. Prince Hoare, page 15 of the Introductory View, in his *Life of Granville Sharp*, mentioning this MS. narrative of the *Life of Dr. John Sharp*, asserts that “whenever it shall be published, it will form an important addition to the annals of *English Biography*.”

Shenley Parsonage,
April 9, 1825.

THE
LIFE
OF
JOHN SHARP, D.D.
LORD ARCHBISHOP OF YORK.

IN FOUR PARTS.

I.

CONTAINING THE HISTORY OF HIS LIFE AND ACTIONS, FROM HIS
BIRTH TO HIS CONSECRATION.

II.

HIS CHARACTER AS BISHOP, AND HIS PROCEEDINGS IN HIS DIOCESE.

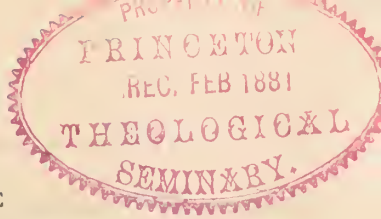
III.

HIS MORE PUBLIC TRANSACTIONS IN THE AFFAIRS OF CHURCH AND
STATE.

IV.

HIS SOCIAL VIRTUES, AND INTERIOR LIFE.

*The Index for both Volumes will be found at the end
of Vol. II.*



THE
LIFE
OF
ARCHBISHOP SHARP.

PART I.

FROM HIS BIRTH TO HIS CONSECRATION TO
THE SEE OF YORK.

JOHN SHARP was the son of Thomas Sharp, of Bradford, in the county of York, by Dorothy, the eldest daughter of Mr. John Weddal, of Widdington, in the said county, a younger branch of the Weddal's, of Earswick, near York. Her mother was a daughter of the family of the Cutt's, of Childerly, in Cambridgeshire.

His father, Mr. Thomas Sharp, was the second or third son of the owner of an estate called Woodhouse, near Bradford, being a younger branch of the Sharp's, of Little Horton, in the same neighbourhood: among whom there had been kept up, as Mr. Thoresby says, not only a succession of Thomas and John alternately for many generations, but, what was much

more for their credit, a taste for letters and polite studies; for there were some among them who were considerable for their writings, inso-much that, he adds, it is rare to meet with so many of the learned authors so nearly allied.

He tells us likewise, that the family of the Sharp's had been very ancient in Bradfordale; but that all the writings (except some registers) by which any further knowledge of them might have been gained, were lost or destroyed at the taking of Bradford, in the civil wars.

A loss of no great consequence to the Archbishop's character: for it matters not to his character, whether his ancestors were of little figure and note in their age, or were ever so illustrious.

For though the relative honour that persons of rank derive from their house and blood is of use as well as credit to them while they live, and serves, like other civil distinctions from offices and preferments, to procure them precedency and external respects among men, yet neither their extraction nor their station, considered in themselves, contribute any thing to the real advantage of their memory. The respects that are paid by posterity (if any be thought due) arise from other considerations. No recommendation remains acceptable but what is founded on personal merit, which, in

whatever shape it appears, stands always entitled to a just regard.

Waving, therefore, any further notice of the lives and characters of his progenitors, I shall hasten to relate the great virtues and talents remarkable in him, by which he raised himself to be an ornament to that church in which he held so eminent a station afterwards, and became an honour and credit to his kindred, and the family from whence he sprang.

He was born at Bradford, on Shrove Sunday, Feb. 16, 1644, and was baptised there by Mr. Blazet, a person episcopally ordained. His sponsors were Mr. Weddall, Mr. Drake, and Mrs. Cordingly. The circumstances of those times make the mention of these particulars the more seasonable; especially, considering what was objected many years afterwards, though unjustly, to another Archbishop, his cotemporary. He took satisfaction himself in knowing, that he had been admitted into the church in this regular way. For though it was his constant opinion that baptism, administered with the proper matter and form, though by a lay hand, ought not to be repeated; yet it was always with pleasure he observed, that this happened not to be his own case, at a time when the irregular administrations of it were so frequent in all parts of the kingdom.

The first period of a man's life, which is spent in his nurture and education, though it is far from being insignificant in itself, for it is the foundation of the whole superstructure that is afterwards raised upon it; yet commonly proves a barren subject, through the scarcity of materials. But this does not lessen the curiosity of some, which extends itself to the knowledge of the earliest and most minute particulars that can with certainty be reported, concerning those who have at length proved eminent in their times. And it has, accordingly, been usual with those writers who have taken upon them to recommend the lives and actions of such men to posterity, to accommodate themselves to this taste as far as it lay in their power, by picking up and preserving all the scattered notices to be met with of what they did, and what happened to them in the first stages of life. In discharge, therefore, of this customary debt to such undertakings, and to gratify the peculiar relish of those to whom the relation of such little incidents is agreeable, and likewise to make the narrative appear something more complete, a few of the most material passages of this kind shall be selected.

His father and mother were religious, honest, and hospitable people, and beloved in their neighbourhood; but yet in a different way of

thinking from each other upon the disputes of those days. His father was not a little inclined to Puritanism, according to the temper of those times, and much favoured the parliament party; and was himself in great favour with the Lord Fairfax, who made his head-quarters at his house in Bradford, and shewed him all the kindness, and did him all the service that he could.— Among other expressions of his favour, his lordship offered him a commission, which probably he had accepted, had not his wife, who was a strenuous royalist, persuaded him, with great difficulty, not to accept it. During these turbulent times, it was her particular care to instil her own principles of loyalty to the king, and esteem for the liturgy, into her son John, who was their eldest child. She had, with some hazard of Lord Fairfax's displeasure, and notwithstanding all searches made for the common prayer-books, preserved those of her family; one of which she put early into her son's hands, and taught him to love and value it. He used to declare, that while he was yet a boy, he much admired some of the offices, and particularly the litany, with which he was much affected, as, indeed, he seemed to be all his life after; for it was read every morning in his own family, at the early prayers, as long as he lived. He judged it, as to the matter, extremely well

suiting to the wants of mankind; and, as to the manner of it, exceedingly well contrived for the helping our infirmities in prayer.

But he was no less indebted to his father's piety for some happy and lasting impressions that it made upon him, than to his mother's care and instructions. If she first taught him to love the letter of the liturgy, yet it was from his father that he first admired, and became desirous of being endued with a spirit of devotion, and that by accident; for his chamber being next his father's, gave him an opportunity, (by means of some chink or aperture in the partition of the rooms, unobserved by any but himself,) of frequently seeing his father at his private prayers. His first attention to what he saw might only be the effect of a childish curiosity; but, nevertheless, there was something he noted in his father's manner of addressing himself to God in secret—something that smote his fancy so powerfully—that he was wont to say himself, that the impressions he got whilst a child, from the visible earnestness and importunacy of his father in his private devotions, were so strong upon his mind as never to be worn out afterwards.

So deep root will the actions of parents sometimes take in the minds of their children, though yet of a tender and seemingly undiscerning age. They have an early and natural

taste for what is good, as well as propensity to evil, the encouragement of which, by timely and seasonable examples, is commonly the first step in a virtuous education : for these are their best instructions, till reason calls them forth into a higher class of learning and improvement : and what examples so instructive to them, as those of their own parents, whose judgments they are wont solely to rely upon, and whose actions they are fond to imitate in every thing.

But he had also early imbibed from his father (who fell in with the prevailing principles of those times) the doctrine of Calvin about absolute and irreversible decrees of predestination and reprobation : insomuch, that he went up to the University a rigid predestinarian, and thought himself able to vindicate the hardest point of their doctrine, and to prove that absolute reprobation manifested God's glory, as it shewed his dominion over his creatures ; but his tutor took some pains with him upon this head : and by putting some questions seriously to him, as whether he thought it any glory to himself to tread out the life of a poor worm ? and others of the like nature, (which would lead him to reflect, that the glory of the Supreme Being could not possibly consist in any of those things which would not so much as make for the glory of finite beings,) he brought him by degrees to

change his sentiments, and put him into a better way of thinking, which, in his riper years, he constantly pursued, without any tincture or remains of the first prejudices of education.

Whilst he continued at Bradford school, his father had him instructed in writing short-hand, that he might take down in notes the preachments of those times; and he made him every Sunday, in the evening, repeat to the family from his short-hand copy, all that had been delivered that day in the congregation. It may readily be guessed what a tedious task this was. However, it was attended with an advantage which he valued ever after, viz. a perfect knowledge and command of the cypher, of which he sufficiently experienced the benefit when he became a preacher himself.

He never was at any other school than Bradford;—either his natural genius, or his industry, or both, made amends for all deficiencies of that school, and supplied the place of a more advantageous education.

It is certain that he had made such a progress in school learning, at fifteen years of age, that his father was determined to complete his education, and send him directly to the University, and to maintain him there seven years, and that not in a penurious way, which might cramp his studies, but with as liberal a hand as he

was able, considering that he had five children more to provide for out of the profits of his trade.

He was admitted of Christ's College in Cambridge, on April 26, 1660, just before the restoration of the King, under the tuition of Mr. Brooksbank, who was an acquaintance of his father's, and took no small pains in discharging the trust reposed in him. He encouraged his young pupil to resort freely to him for a solution of whatever difficulties he met with in the course of his studies; and, accordingly, when he went to lectures at night in his tutor's chamber, he constantly carried in his pocket a paper of questions, which had arisen from what he had read that day; and when the other pupils were dismissed, these matters were discussed and resolved.

Mr. Brooksbank lived to receive some recompense for the great care he took of his pupil at this time; for when Dr. Sharp was Archdeacon of Berks, he procured for his tutor, by the interest of the Lord Chancellor, the living of St. Mary's, in Reading, within his own archdeaconry: and afterwards, he would have resigned the archdeaconry itself, in hopes of obtaining the favour that Mr. Brooksbank might succeed him in that dignity; but though the bishop would not grant that request, yet he so

far complied with it, as to give Mr. Brooksbank a prebend in Salisbury.

Besides the course of studies that he went through under the direction of his tutor, he heard lectures in natural philosophy from Dr. Thomas Burnet, afterwards master of the Charter-house, but then fellow of Christ's College, who taught the Cartesian philosophy. He used indeed to lament that the study of mathematics was neglected while he was a youth; but he had naturally so clear a head, and so good a taste, that neither any prejudice in favour of the opinions of Des Cartes, nor want of a more early insight into mathematics, could afterwards prevent his studying,—admitting and admiring the new philosophy of Sir Isaac Newton, of which he used frequently to discourse, and always spoke of it with great delight, as setting forth the Creator in the most beautiful light that it was possible for us to conceive him in, with respect to external nature.

Under whose direction he studied chemistry and botany, does not now appear; but that he had, while he was at the university, taken a great deal of pains and pleasure too, in both those sciences, sufficiently appears from two books wrote with his own hand in cypher, containing transcripts of lectures, queries, and solutions, and large excerpts out of writers upon

those subjects. The larger book of botany, chemistry, and physics, was begun in the year 1665;—the lesser book was wrote before. And after both these (but at what time is uncertain) he wrote out a fair copy in round hand, of certain chemical experiments and conclusions.

Soon after he came to Cambridge, his studies were very much interrupted by a quartan ague, which stuck by him a considerable time, occasioned, as he supposed, by his rising too early in the morning, and bathing too frequently in the evening. He returned into Yorkshire for the recovery of his health, where he was severely exercised with hypocondriac melancholy; the effect, as he believed, of his distemper. But it was an effect happy enough in the main, both for himself and others; for it gave him a most perfect insight into the nature of that kind of melancholy, which, in innocent people, arises from an indisposition or ill habit of body; and enabled him afterwards, as a casuist, to treat admirably well upon that subject, and to be exceeding useful to as many as applied to him for his advice in the like cases. And, perhaps, few men had more applications of this kind than himself, which occasioned his writing a great deal upon the subject, as well in letters for private use as in set discourses, which were first delivered in the pulpit, and

published after his death, in the third volume of his sermons, which entirely consists of discourses of this sort.

He had begun from the year of his admission to take down the substance, and sometimes entire passages of such sermons as he heard preached at the University (and herein his shorthand served him to better purpose than it had formerly done at Bradford). Whenever he met with any critical explanation of scripture, or clear solution of any difficulty, or any thing remarkable or subservient to the study of theology, he was sure to book it, and preserve it by him for future examination and use.

In 1663, he began to read books in divinity, and applied himself close to the study of Dr. Lightfoot's Harmony, and Grotius upon the Gospels; the advantage of which, especially the latter, he often afterwards acknowledged. In the same year he performed all his exercise for his bachelor's degree, and commenced the winter following.

He had no college preferment till his fourth year, and then he was made scholar of the house. He never desired any thing so earnestly as he did a fellowship; but his county rendering him incapable, he could not obtain one, though the master and all the fellows (as he thought) were his friends. And, indeed, he had

demeaned himself in the college so studiously and virtuously, as to have gained their general esteem; and there is no doubt, had there been room for him, they would readily have elected him into their society. Proposals, indeed, were made to his father by one of the fellows for the obtaining a fellowship for him; but the offer was made upon such terms, as he did not think to be honest; and, therefore, how desirous soever he was of that preferment, he had the honour and courage to reject those proposals. The learned Dr. Cudworth could have brought him in, in the year 1669, and proffered to do so; but Mr. Sharp, by that time, had better views, and knew too much of the world to think of a fellowship then. It appears from hence how mistaken the account is, that is usually given of his disappointment, viz. that he had sate once or twice for a fellowship, and could not obtain the favour to be chosen.

But, however, the prospect of this little preferment (then great in his eyes) was of no small use and service to him while he had it in view; for it kept him to the hard study of the Greek authors, and especially the poets, from the time of his taking his bachelor's degree, till he commenced master, the greatest part of which time he spent in and near Cambridge: for the plague in 1665 and 1666, being at Cambridge, he, as

many others did upon that occasion, removed to the neighbouring villages; first, to Sawston, near Cambridge, where he boarded, together with Mr. Covell, of his own college, and others, who removed their pupils; and afterwards at Dullingham, near Newmarket.

He never repented the pains he had taken with the Greek poets, and indeed his head was better turned for those elegant and polite studies, than one would easily imagine, who considers him so early a disciple of the chemist and the botanist, and himself afterwards so eminent a casuist and antiquary; and yet it is certain he took great delight, not only in poetry as long as he lived, but while he was a youth in plays and romances too, and whatever was calculated to smite the fancy and move the passions. He had a happy talent of doing this himself, whenever he proposed to stir the affections, (which he thought of great use in preaching); and it may be observed in some of his sermons, how much and how successfully he hath, upon occasion, laboured this point.

There is but one thing more to be taken notice of in this preliminary account of his youth and education, which, though of little moment in itself, yet as it proved the means of his first being taken notice of, and favoured by the man who gave him his first lift into the world, should

not be here forgotten ; and that was, his graceful, distinct, and proper manner of reading the lessons out of scripture, in the college chapel, while he was bachelor of arts. There was something in his way of performing this part of the service, so peculiar to himself, and so agreeable to the taste of that great divine and philosopher, Dr. Henry More, that it gained him a friend without his knowledge, and preferment without his expectation.

For having taken his master's degree in 1667, and his leave of the University, despairing of a fellowship, and being retired into Yorkshire to prosecute his studies, with less expense to his father, and there to wait the issues of God's providence ;—it happened, in the mean time, that Sir Heneage Finch, then Solicitor-general, wrote to Dr. H. More to recommend to him a person who should be his domestic chaplain and tutor to his sons.

Upon this the Doctor recommended Mr. Sharp, knowing his abilities to be equal to that charge, and being pleased with such an opportunity of testifying the esteem he had for him, from the time of his observing his way of reading in the chapel.

Upon this recommendation of him, he was called out of Yorkshire into Sir Heneage Finch's family, before he had been a month with his

father; to which removal he owed his future success and advancement in the world, as appeared by the accumulation of preferments upon him within the compass of a few years.

Mr. Sharp entered into holy orders on the 12th of August, 1667, together with Mr. Leigh and Mr. Lovet, who were of the same college. He was ordained deacon and priest on the same day, in the parish church of St. Margaret's, Westminster, by virtue of a faculty from his Grace the Archbishop of Canterbury, by the hands of Dr. Fuller, then Bishop of Limerick, afterwards of Lincoln. The assisting presbyters were Dr. Outram, minister of St. Margaret's, (the same who wrote the learned book *De Sacrificiis*,) and Mr. White, afterwards Bishop of Peterborough, and Dr. Gardiner, then chaplain to the Duke of Monmouth, and afterwards Bishop of Lincoln. The renowned Bishop Bull had likewise received both orders in one day; and was but twenty-one years of age when he was thus ordained by Bishop Skinner. That bishop excused himself for this breach of the canons by the necessity of the times; but Dr. Fuller had something more for his justification, viz. a special dispensation from Dr. Sheldon, the archbishop of the province: which, however extraordinary, was of sufficient authority, and a satisfactory reason why the three grave and worthy

divines who assisted should, without scruple, concur in the act.

From the time of his being called into the Solicitor-general's family, who then lived in Kensington House, he spent his time there much to his satisfaction, and much to his improvement. The young gentlemen of whom he had the particular tuition were, first, Mr. John and Mr. Charles Finch: the former was a youth of extraordinary capacities and improvements, for his age; but was unhappily snatched away by the small-pox, when he was ripe for the University, in the year 1674: the other lived to be a member of All Souls College in Oxford, but died in the flower of his age. Afterwards, Mr. Edward and Mr. Henry Finch, came under his care. Both these gentlemen afterwards, to their great honour, voluntarily took upon themselves the sacred function; and both of them, to the great pleasure of their old tutor, were at length dignitaries in his Cathedral at York, where he shewed, as long as he lived, the utmost respect and kindness for them both; and in some measure, as far as was in his power, recompensed to them the many favours himself had received in and from their father's family.

During his residence with the Solicitor, what time he had to spare from his pupils, he spent in improving himself in all kinds of learning.

He yet followed, in some measure, his former studies of philosophy and chemistry.

But what he chiefly applied himself to, were such books as tended to make him an able divine; and his kind patron would not suffer him to be destitute of the necessary means; but gave him, at different times, the Polyglot Bible and Lexicons, St. Austin's and St. Chrysostom's works, Crab's Councils, and the Centuriators, and such books as it was not easy for him to purchase, or come to the use of.

In the year 1669, he was incorporated Master of Arts at Oxford, in company with several from Cambridge, who went thither to the opening of Sheldon's Theatre, when there was a great resort to that University. In this year he took a great deal of pains with the Pagan Theology; and this seems to be the time when he finished his comment upon Genesis, and that part of Exodus which precedes the giving of the Law by Moses; and also those large excerpts, or rather abridgements, of the Greek historians, which he wrote in another volume. Both are in short-hand; the comment considerably long, and particular; by which it appears, that he was tolerably skilled in the Hebrew tongue, though probably no great master of it.

At length he pursued his studies with such close application, and at such unseasonable hours,

that he hurt his health and constitution, and was forced *to retire into the country*. He found *his remedy in a Yorkshire journey*; which, at the same time, gave him an opportunity of taking *his last leave of his father*, who was then declining apace, and died about a month after he left him, in the *sixty-third year of his age*.

Upon his return to London, he fell upon the study of the Law of Moses, and so on with the remaining books of the Bible; upon all or most of which he hath left sufficient testimonies of the pains he took.

He had, indeed, more leisure now to pursue his studies (having yet no cure upon his hands, and being under no necessity of constant preaching) than he had afterwards, when he became a parochial minister. So that it was happy for him that he laid so good a foundation in his younger years, that he might with the more ease and readiness execute with credit the business of his calling, when the perpetual interruptions and avocations, unavoidable in a large parish (which was his lot,) would not allow him much time to himself.

This exemption from making sermons was owing to Sir Heneage, who did not require his chaplain to do that office in the family; but ordered him, as there was occasion, to read printed sermons, and, among others, some of

Bishop Andrews's. Mr. Sharp, who ever disliked playing upon words in discourses on religion, took occasion on a Christmas Day, when he was directed to read Bishop Andrews's sermon upon this text, "*Thou shalt call his name Emmanuel,*" (where there is a whimsical jingle upon the most solemn word in the sentence), to lay his emphasis in such a manner on that passage which was most offensive to him, that Sir Heneage perceived he intended to put him out of conceit with that way of writing, which that good Bishop sometimes affected. And the design was answered; for Sir Heneage never ordered those sermons to be read again in his family.

The first sermon that Sir Heneage heard of his chaplain's own composing, (and it was the first that he made,) did so please him, that he ordered one of his sons (who was afterwards Lord Guernsey and Ailesford) to go and thank him for it; and the kindness he had for him seemed to increase every day.

The first step that Sir Heneage made towards his preferment, was upon the death of Dr. Thomas Hodges, Dean of Hereford, and Rector of St. Peter's, Cornhill; to whom Mr. Sharp had administered *in extremis*, and had given the absolution of the church, for which the Doctor left him *Pugeo fidei* as a legacy. This living

being vacant by his death, Sir Heneage Finch, who was now made Attorney-general, applied to Dr. HENCHMAN, the Bishop of London, for it; but his lordship was pre-engaged for his own chaplain, Dr. WILLIAM BEVERIDGE, who succeeded in it accordingly.

But it was not long before the Attorney-general succeeded more happily in his application; and that was for the Archdeaconry of Berks, vacant by the promotion of Dr. PETER MEW, to the See of Bath and Wells, and in the disposal of the Crown. Mr. SHARP was twenty-eight years of age when this dignity was conferred upon him by the King; and it is observable, that he never had any preferment afterwards, but what he had under the seals. And though all of them were bestowed upon him without his own seeking or application, and most of them without his knowledge or particular expectation, yet this first was given him even against his inclination and will.

For when the Attorney-general told him, (after he came from the court), that the King had given him the Archdeaconry of Berkshire, he answered, that he was too young for that office, and that he knew nothing of the nature of it: whereupon the Attorney-general bid him read LYNDWOOD; and for his further encouragement paid all the fees of the seals for him; and

shortly after, at his first visitation, he not only lent him horses and servants, but put money in his pocket to defray the expences.

But notwithstanding these favours, he met with some difficulty and disappointment upon the first exercise of his new jurisdiction; for having held his visitation before induction, when he came to Salisbury to be inducted, the Dean refused to execute the mandate, supposing that he had acted illegally in visiting before he had complete possession; and, accordingly, he sent him back to London, *re infectá*. But the Attorney-general befriended him again, and within a week or ten days, after good advice had been taken in London, he returned to Salisbury, and was, without further dispute, inducted upon the same mandate, which he had brought down at the first.

Towards the latter end of this year, viz. in November, 1673, Sir Heneage Finch was made Lord Keeper, in which great post he continued (as Lord Chancellor, after he was created Earl of Nottingham) near ten years: whereby he became, through the privileges of his office, a great patron. And Archdeacon Sharp's interest with his lordship (to whom he continued titular chaplain after he quitted the family till the year 1681, if not till the Lord Chancellor's death,) gave him an opportunity, and an extraordinary

one it was, for a chaplain to meet with, of making himself also a very useful friend, and, in some sense, a patron likewise, to worthy clergymen; which, no doubt, was the foundation of the universal acquaintance he had among the divines of that age, and of the unusual respect he received from them. A full and just account of this matter has been already given to the world by Mr. Nelson, in his *Life of Dr. Bull*, who was one of the worthy clergymen promoted by the Lord Chancellor, at the instance of Archdeacon Sharp; and, therefore, it will be sufficient to recite the passage from him, P. 278, 279, where he mentions Dr. Bull's promotion to a prebend in Gloucester:

“ Among the many very commendable qualities of this great man, (the Lord Chancellor Finch) his zeal for the welfare of the Church of England was not the least conspicuous; which particularly shewed itself in the care he took in disposing of those ecclesiastical preferments which were in the gift of the seals. He judged rightly, in looking upon that privilege as a trust for the good of the Church of God, of which he was to give strict account; and, therefore, being sensible that the several duties of his great post, as first Minister of State, as Lord Chancellor, and as Speaker of the House of Lords, would not

allow his lordship time and leisure to make that inquiry which was necessary, to know the characters of such as were candidates for preferment, he devolved this particular province upon his chaplain, whose conscience he charged with an impartial scrutiny into this matter; adding withal, that he would prefer none but those who came recommended from him; and that, if he led him wrong, the blame should fall upon his own soul.

“ It is true that this was a great testimony of my lord’s entire confidence in the uprightness, as well as capacity of his chaplain; but the world will quickly be satisfied with what caution and judgment his lordship took his measures, when they shall know, that his then chaplain was Dr. Sharp, the present Lord Archbishop of York, who fills one of the archiepiscopal thrones of the Church of England, with that universal applause, which is due to his Grace’s distinguishing merits: whose elevation hath not deprived him of his humility, but he exerciseth the same affability and courtesy towards all men, which he practised in a lower sphere; and that learning and piety, that integrity and zeal for the glory of God, which influence his Grace in the government of his diocese, and of his province, were peculiarly serviceable to the Earl of Nottingham, in the

charge his lordship laid upon him, with so much solemnity.”

Thus far Mr. Nelson.

But his lordship did not so strictly keep to this rule as in no case to depart from it; for, in 1675, (while he was yet Lord Keeper) he disposed of three preferments in one year upon his own judgment, without receiving the recommendation, or taking the advice of his chaplain; and these were upon the chaplain himself. The first was a prebend of Norwich; the second was the living of St. Bartholomew's Exchange, vacant by the promotion of Dr. Bridoque to Chichester; at whose consecration, Mr. Sharp preached in Lambeth chapel*. He was instituted into this benefice by Bishop Henchman, but held it a very short time; for the rectory of St. Giles's in the Fields, (which was the third) becoming soon vacant by the death of Dr. Boreman, my Lord Keeper insisted upon his taking that. Each of these favours were accompanied with further marks of kindness; for his lordship would not suffer him to pay the seal fees for the two former; and when he gave him the last, he did it with this farther promise, that if St. Martin's in the

* April 18th, 1675.—At the consecration of Doctor Ralph Bridoque to Chichester, and Doctor William Lloyd to Llandaff; by Archbishops Sheldon and Stern, and Bishop Gunning.

Fields would be more acceptable to him, if ever it became vacant in his time, he should have it; which his lordship did accordingly offer to him afterwards in the year 1680, (when Dr. Tennison came in upon the removal of Dr. Lloyd to St. Asaph). But he would not then leave his parishioners of St. Giles's, who greatly loved and respected him, purely for the sake of a more profitable benefice.

He had, indeed, two very early opportunities of recommending himself to his parishioners at St. Giles's, and of obliging them. One was the advantage of the pulpit from the death of Dr. Boreman to the time of his own induction, which made his person and talents known to them before he came to be their minister; the other was the serviceableness of his interest with the Lord Keeper, which he shewed them the very day after he had taken possession of the church. For it happened that while he was treating his vestrymen, immediately after his induction, that the chests in the vestry were broke open, and all the communion-plate stolen, to the value of above £200; but my Lord Keeper, upon Mr. Sharp's mentioning it the next day, was pleased to order, for the use of that church, two large silver gilt flagons, and two chalices, for which he paid above an hundred pounds.

He was instituted into this rectory, January 3, 1675-6, by Dr. Henry Compton; and was the first clergyman whom his lordship gave institution to: and, notwithstanding his lordship was afterwards, in the reign of King James, a great sufferer on his account, that is, for not suspending those powers which he now granted him, yet, it may be presumed, from the respect and friendship that he shewed him upon that, and upon all other occasions, that his lordship never less regretted the admission of a clerk in his whole life; and never thought otherwise than with satisfaction, on these first fruits of his episcopal acts.

Towards the end of the spring following, Mr. Sharp married Mrs. Elizabeth Palmer, of the Palmer's, of Winthorp, in Lincolnshire; her mother was heiress of the Halton's, another ancient family. This lady was recommended to Mr. Sharp by Mr. Rawlinson (afterwards Sir William Rawlinson, and one of the Lords Commissioners of the Great Seal, at the Revolution,) who had married her sister. But Mrs. Mosely (for that was the present name of their mother, who had married again) having past the prime of her life in the late times, and received some taint from the Puritans, and being a particular friend and admirer of the famous Mr. Baxter, would not consent to this treaty for her daughter, till she

had consulted him. Accordingly she did : and Mr. Baxter not only consented and approved of the proposal, but such was the opinion he had of the Archdeacon, and such his esteem for him, that he told her, had he a daughter of his own to dispose of, he would not refuse her to Mr. Sharp*.

This put an end at once to all Mrs. Mosely's difficulties, and the marriage was soon concluded and solemnized at Clerkenwell Church, by Dr. Tillotson.

The first occasion of his becoming acquainted with Dr. Tillotson, who was one of his intimate friends, was this :—Not long after he came out of Yorkshire into the Solicitor's family, going to Mr. Joseph Tillotson, the Doctor's brother, a wet and dry salter, or oil drawer, in London, with a bill from his father, Sharp, who was of the same trade in Bradford, he there happened to meet with the Doctor himself ; who, finding Mr. Sharp to be his countryman, and a young clergyman, setting out into the world, did, out of his usual goodness and humanity, take par-

* Mr. Baxter lived in great friendship with him for many years afterwards, and did not only frequently attend at his church at service and sermons, but at his sacraments. Mr. Baxter's reasons for his occasional conformity, may be found in his *Life*, published by Silvester, p. 437.

ticular notice of him, and entreat him courteously; and having entered into some familiar conversation with him, was pleased, at parting, to give him leave, whenever he would, freely to come to his own house, and to have recourse to him as often as he thought it might be serviceable to himself. Mr. Sharp judged this a lucky interview, and thought himself blessed in so valuable an acquaintance; and ever after spoke with pleasure upon the occasion: for here commenced a friendship which lasted as long as Dr. Tillotson lived, improved perpetually by an intimate conversation for many years, and cemented by repeated returns of good offices to each other, and some of them, on either side, considerable, as will hereafter be shewn. Of all those good offices which Dr. Tillotson did for him, that which he now performed in the ceremony of giving him a companion for life, proved in the event most acceptable; as it was the greatest worldly blessing that Providence ever bestowed upon him, and contributed more to his ease and comfort than any of the great preferments he afterwards attained to; for there could not be a more happy couple than he and his lady were: nor could any woman be better qualified than she was to answer his purpose, or scheme of domestic economy, in a married state, which was, *to commit his purse*, as

well as the conduct of his household affairs, wholly to the care and management of his wife. And, accordingly, on the day of his marriage, he gave her his money, bidding her to be a good steward with it, and with what she should for the future receive for him, for he would have as *little concern with it himself as possible*, so long as she lived; and he was as good as his word, as there may be further occasion to shew hereafter.

Upon this change of his condition, he quitted his patron's family, where he had lived eight years and a half, and removed with his wife to Mr. Rawlinson (his brother by this alliance, as lately mentioned,) in Chancery-lane, with whom he dwelt four years, intent upon the affairs of his parish, and such studies as concerned his office and duty in it, and more especially the preaching part, which he had (as was before observed) much neglected, till he became a constant preacher.

However, it was not long before his great abilities this way were more publicly known. The two first sermons that he printed were preached before the Lord Mayor; the third, before the House of Commons, on April 11, 1679; but that which most tended to advance his character in the pulpit, was his taking the Friday lecture at St. Lawrence's Jury (which he did in

the year aforesaid, March 28, 1679,) where there was, not so much a concourse of people as a convention of divines, especially those of the city, who had customarily attended those lectures, from the time that Dr. Tillotson, who was the Tuesday lecturer, had so successfully led the way in reforming the method and stile of composures for the pulpit. Mr. Sharp, whether he thought himself too young for this service, and unequal to it, or whether he imagined it would encroach too much upon his time, and necessary attendance on his parish, or whatever was his reason, was very unwilling to undertake it; but at the earnest request of Dr. Ben. Whichcot, (who was Vicar of St. Lawrence's) he was at length prevailed upon to hold the lecture as long as that doctor lived, but he would hold it no longer; and, accordingly, when Dr. Whichcot dropt, he quitted it.

Being this same year of doctor's standing in the University, he thought the taking his degree was a debt that he owed to his character and preferments in the church; being a dignitary, as well as minister, of one of the largest parishes in town. Whereupon he went down to Cambridge, and was admitted by Dr. Turner, the Vice Chancellor; and in July, was created Doctor in Divinity by proxy, "*Domino Doctore Beveridgio stante in Comitibus in ejus Vice.*"

The next year, 1680, he published three sermons more; one entitled, “*The doing Good in our Lives,*” that it is every Man’s great Concernment, and in every Man’s Power; preached at the Yorkshire Feast, February 17th. Another, entitled, “*The Rich Man’s Duty;*” preached at the Spittal, April 14th following. (These two he published together, for reasons given in their respective dedications. 9. Vid.) The third, was that excellent discourse which he preached at the election of a Lord Mayor, on September 29th, entitled, “*A Description of the Upright Man, and his Security in Evil Times.*”

This year also, he left his brother Rawlinson, and took a house for himself in Great Russel-street, nearer his own church: where he continued to the time of his leaving the parish.

And here, it may not be improper to consider him, in his labours as a Parochial Minister.

The sixteen years that he continued Rector of St. Giles’s, were the prime of his life. He was not quite thirty-one years of age at his induction. At forty his parts were at the height, and his head more bright, and his spirits more vigorous, (as he himself thought), than in any other part of his life; and, indeed, he had sufficient occasion both for a ready and able understanding, and a sound and clean constitution.

For he was frequently obliged to spend the greatest part of the night (especially Saturday nights) in his study: not that he purposely chose those hours to be free from noise and disturbance, or secure from interruptions of company and business, (for such late studying no ways suited with his inclinations,) but because he frequently had no other time to answer the constant demands of his pulpit. And now it was, and chiefly in those midnight hours, which he borrowed from his rest, that he composed most of those discourses, which afterwards, with a little revisal and finishing, he made use of to his dying day.

No character can be given of his preaching, more just or excellent than that which he himself, though very modestly, as well as seriously, hath given of it, in his Farewell Sermon, where he tells his flock, that although he could not say he had done his duty as he ought, (and he heartily begged of God to forgive him all his defects,) yet he had this satisfaction, that, in all his preaching, he had sincerely endeavoured to instruct them in the true doctrine of the Gospel, and to teach them the right way that leads to salvation; and that he was so certain that he had neither been mistaken himself, nor misled them in that matter, that he durst with confidence address himself to them in the words of

the Apostle: "Those things which you have learned, and received, and heard of me, do; and the God of Peace shall be with you."

And if he could thus answer and engage for the truth and soundness of his doctrines, there are enough, even as many as heard him, or have read his discourses, who, though less capable of answering for the matter of them, will yet give testimony to his good manner of preaching. His great excellency lay in representing the truths of religion, with such plainness and unaffected simplicity, as was, at the same time, very persuasive and affecting. Even when he undertook to treat the more nice and uncommon subjects, his management of them was admirably well adapted to common apprehension. The arguments he used were always pertinent and clear, and the stile in which he delivered those arguments easy and familiar, as well as just and correct*. So that few writers will be found to equal, and none to surpass him, in perspicuity and propriety of expression.

He studied, as much as any man, to move and warm the passions, and he did it in so happy a way, that is, with so little appearance of design,

* Vide Dr. Felton's Character of Archbishop Sharp's Sermons, in his Dissertation upon reading the Classics: wherein he proposes them as a model for the forming a just stile.

that it is hard to know whether the success he had in influencing the affections, be the effect of his art in the arrangement of his matter, and force of his expressions; or whether his arguments make their own address to the passions, without being beholden to his skill and conduct, for any adventitious recommendation. He had withal an unusual pathos in his delivery, wonderfully instrumental in exciting and preserving attention, and captivating the mind. He had naturally no ear for music; and yet there was something very engaging and harmonious in his elocution, owing to the regularity and justness of his cadences, and the happy accommodation of the tone of his voice to the subject matter of which he was speaking, together with an observance of swift or slow measures of utterance, as best suited the *texture* of his expressions, or best served to enliven the sentiments he intended to convey: so that, indeed, those discourses which are published to the world, are only, as it were, the dead letter, in comparison of what they appeared under the persuasive power of his delivery, and want that quickening spirit that gave such life and inimitable beauty to them in the mouth of their author. In short, the advantages he gave to his own performances were so remarkable, that it was his distinguishing character among the London Divines, to

excel in the pathetic way, as is acknowledged even by some who will give no other recommendation of him as a preacher.

The learned Bishop Burnet, for instance, who was never thought partial to him on the favourable side, gives this account of him in his History of his Own Times, Vol. I. p. 674. “ *He was (says his lordship) both a very pious man and one of the most popular preachers of the age, who had a peculiar talent of reading his Sermons with much life and zeal.*

This character is, indeed, so far as it goes, a very just and true one; and, when well considered, a great one too. For it is agreed by all who have wrote upon the eloquence of the pulpit, that one of the first requisites to the making a good preacher, is that he himself be a devout and good man, deeply and seriously affected with a sense of those things which he would inculcate, and impress upon the minds and affections of others. *He who hath no other end or view, either in composing or delivering his discourses, than the making people better, and more disposed to their duty, cannot well be otherwise than an able preacher, and must have ill luck if he be not a popular one too;* for he will certainly, under this disposition, take more with his audience than another of superior talents and capacities can do, who happens to be guided

by any less worthy aims. That Dr. Sharp was so popular a preacher, was no doubt principally to be ascribed to the piety of the man, to which he owed, in great measure, (what his lordship stiles a peculiar talent, viz.) the *reading* of his Sermons with life and zeal. For it was impossible for him to speak of the things that concerned God or Religion without being affected himself, and without endeavouring, as far as his natural powers would enable him, to affect others also.

It may seem, indeed, to them who knew Bishop Burnet's faculty of preaching *extempore*, wherein he undoubtedly excelled, as if he mentioned Dr. Sharp's reading his Sermons as no part of his laudable character; and, surely, it was very natural for his lordship, who was conscious of his own readiness upon all occasions, and very reasonable to allow him who had been bred up in this extemporary way, to be of opinion, that it was no commendable thing for a man to *read* a precomposed form, though ever so peculiarly well. But yet, others are more at liberty, and it may be, rather inclined to think differently; as they have been used to discourses, *penned with care and meditation*, and have observed it to be the choice, and almost universal practice of the English Divines, of that and the present age, who have been thought as

able preachers as any in the Christian Church, since the primitive times. And such will be ready to own, that it is no small attainment even *to read a sermon well*; and that it is worth a man's while and pains, to endeavour after it; especially considering, that there are not many who arrive at any perfection in doing so. And for this reason, several of our eminent Prelates have given this in charge to their clergy, that they study propriety of elocution, and endeavour after a decent and ornamental way of delivering their discourses; judging very rightly, that not only the character of the preacher, but even the success of his labours depend, in too great a measure, upon this seemingly inconsiderable point.

As to Dr. Sharp, they who knew his way of talking, especially upon divine subjects (which were often in his mouth,) with so much fluency, piety, gravity, and every ornament that is proper for discourses of that nature, can hardly think otherwise than that he must have acquitted himself in the pulpit, even in the extemporary way, as well as most men, had he made the trial, or thought fit to have pursued such a method. But it was utterly *against his principle*, and contrary to his idea of useful preaching, especially in populous assemblies, and mixed congregations, as are usual in the London

churches, to venture upon a work of so great moment, without having *prepared the diction as well as the matter*. He never thought he could take too great precautions, or too much pains, in composing his sermons, (some of which he corrected and transcribed more than once). He was careful and exact in the choice of his words, and used to say, that the point which put him most upon consideration in the making his sermons, was oftentimes *how to make things plain enough*, that is, to find out phrases suited and levelled to the capacities of the vulgar, and yet *not vulgar enough themselves to offend* the politest taste. He was not at a loss for words significant and proper enough to express his sentiments, (and which came from him with as much ease and readiness as from any man living,) but he wanted to be understood by every body, even his meanest auditors, at the first hearing, and to effect this, too, without using low and creeping similies, rustic phrases, or tedious repetitions, or, if possible, without impairing either the force of his argument or the beauty of his stile. And whosoever can compass thus much, without weighing and adjusting his expressions beforehand, as well as his sentiments, has indeed a peculiar talent, and such as Dr. Sharp never pretended to.

When it fell in Dr. Burnet's way to reprehend the loose, extempore, though popular way of preaching among the Friars, before the Reformation, and to give the reason why the Reformers fell afterwards into the practice of writing and reading their sermons, he thought it not improper either to mention the inconveniences of the former practice, or to bestow a good word or two upon the benefit of the change. He says, "That those who were licensed to preach (viz. among the first Reformers, who *preached without notes,*) being often accused for their sermons, and complaints being made to the King by hot men on both sides, they *generally came to write and read their sermons.*

"*From thence the reading of sermons grew into practice in this church; in which, if there was not that heat and fire which the Friars had shewed in their declamations, so that the passions of the hearers were not so much wrought on by it, yet it hath produced the greatest treasure of weighty, grave, and solid sermons, that ever the Church of God had; which does in great measure compensate that seeming flatness, to vulgar ears, that is in the delivery of them.*"—*Hist. Reform.* V. I. p. 317.

The seeming flatness to vulgar ears, which the Doctor here mentions as the sole imperfec-

tion of delivering sermons from prepared notes, is a consideration that doth indeed concern all those who can suffer themselves to be careless, and to appear indifferent in the delivery of their discourses: but as there can be no room or ground for this complaint in any who have the talent of *reading their sermons with much life and zeal*, so Dr. Sharp stood clear of it, and consequently of all the exceptions that have been commonly made against this modern way of preaching.

It must be confessed, indeed, that his art of short-hand contributed not a little to the acceptableness of his delivery; for he so disposed his characters as to take in a whole sentence, or as much as could be distinctly pronounced in the same breath, with one transient glance of the eye, and so disposed those sentences distinctly under each other, as to be able, when he had taken off his eye, without any difficulty, to recover the place where it had left the page; and so expert was he at this, that he has been sometimes *thought to have preached by heart*, or to make little or no use of his notes, which gave him all the outward advantages of extemporary preaching, without subjecting himself or his audience to any of its disadvantages. For hereby he was at liberty to execute whatever is usually thought graceful, and ornamental in

the pulpit, either with respect to the mien, posture, or movements; which advantage is in great measure lost to any *person who is bound perpetually to attend to his notes*; and which is not often found well improved by any person who has his matter to consider of rather than his manner, and is bound to watch more over his words than his behaviour, and who, through the entire disuse of notes, wants even those seasonable restraints which they would give to redundancy of action, and, perhaps, in some cases, to extravagances of gesture.

So that, upon the whole, Dr. Sharp may be said to have appeared equal, if not superior, to an extempore man, in the agreeableness of his way in delivering himself; besides his having the benefit and security of well-digested and premeditated discourses, fit to be read and criticised upon in private, as well as to pass the transient judgment of the world in public.

It may be added to his being a good preacher, that he was likewise a constant one. For several years he preached twice every Sunday in his own parish, besides his lecture in the city, and other occasional courses that he supplied in the week days.

He had also a *very solemn way of reading the Church Service*, and did great justice to the

admirable form of prayer in the established Liturgy. They who have taken up unreasonable, and yet invincible prejudices, against all set forms of public worship, will suppose it a very small attainment for a man to learn his paces in the same perpetual round or circle, and may think it of no moment what manner is used in offering up (what, in their opinion, may be little better than) the dull repetitions of dry addresses to God Almighty. But they who have more thoroughly considered the thing, do acknowledge, that it is *neither so easy a matter to read prayers well, nor of small consequence whether the offices be performed with devotion and solemnity or no.* Too many complaints have been made against the clergy upon this head, and some of them, without doubt, very unjustly; it not being in every man's power, how pious soever he be in disposition, to read the common prayers to the general satisfaction of others. But this is to be said for Dr. Sharp, that the Church Service in his hands, was executed to every body's taste; and the common petitions, where they were put up by him to the Throne of Grace, were so far from being liable to the imputation of dull performances, that they always affected his audience, though they did not seem always new. How far his happiness in these exercises was a natural gift

in him, or how far it was an acquired perfection, is not easy to determine; but which of them soever it was, he never displayed it more than in the celebration of the holy mysteries. So distinct, nervous, devout, and indeed seraphic, was his elocution on those occasions, that he not only disposed the congregation present to seriousness and reverence, but inspired them with some degrees of that *devotion, life, and comfort* which he expressed himself.

In a word, if he ever distinguished himself in a more extraordinary manner under the character of a Christian Priest,—if he ever did justice to his function, or the Liturgic offices, it was then when he stood before the altar.

There are two points more, not to be forgotten, under the consideration of him as a Parochial Minister; and those are, his care and diligence in discharging two very material branches of his function, viz. *catechising of youth,* and *visiting the sick.*

As to the former, he well knew the great usefulness and expediency of laying a good foundation of religion, by seasoning the mind early with a sense of piety and duty, and furnishing or pre-occupying it with good notions and principles. It was one of his sayings, (and one that he used to direct particularly to his clergy after he became Bishop,) that, although he would

make no comparisons between the Magistrate's office and the Minister's, nor take upon him to determine which of them gave the better opportunities of reforming mankind, and promoting true virtue and goodness; yet this he would say, without offence, that unless men's minds were informed and imbued with serious and good notions, which was the Minister's province, as well as their actions regulated by the laws, which belonged to the Magistrate to take care of, *there could be no true reformation.*

And no man could be better qualified than himself for the office of catechising; for he had not only a faculty of making such things as are not obvious and easy to be understood without explanation, clear and familiar to the slenderest capacities, but he *had also a very kind, warm way of talking upon such matters;* which prevailed much towards engaging the attention, as well as informing the understandings of his catechumens. His lectures on these occasions were *extempore*, save that he always had a little paper of memorandums, or heads of discourse, that he might proceed in order, and not omit any thing that he judged material for their information.

And, as to *visiting the sick, and administering the sacrament in private,* though he had sufficient curates, (able men and ably provided for,)

yet he bore his share of duty with them, even among the poor *in the garrets and the cellars*; and would never refuse his attendance when particularly sent for, though his compliance *herein put him sometimes in hazard of his life*. He never had the small-pox, yet being brought in to persons under that distemper, he hath not through fear or surprize desisted from doing his office; and as he had the general character, not only of a pious man, but a good casuist, he had sometimes more business of this kind upon his hand, than what arose immediately from his own parish. And once, when he was called out by two unknown gentlemen, to an unknown place, on pretence of visiting their dying friend, and not without suspicions of some treacherous design upon himself, (for it was at a particular time in King James's reign, when he had grounds for such a distrust,) nevertheless, he ventured with them, only taking with him the guard of a servant, which was not usual with him, and ordering him to stand in the street before the house whither he was carried, and not to stir from thence upon any account whatsoever, till he saw him out of the house again. This, indeed, was Mrs. Sharp's advice and precaution. And it had this effect, that when the design of the servant's attendance in the street was observed, by his utterly refusing to enter the

house, the Doctor, after waiting some time, was told that the stranger patient was then taking rest, and could not conveniently be disturbed. And so he was dismissed, and never heard afterwards either of the patient or his friends.

He gave it in charge to his two curates, in their course of visiting the sick, *never to take gratuities from ordinary tradesmen, or any of the inferior sort of people*; and that they might be the less tempted to complain of this injunction, he not only set off to them for their allowance, such fees of his parish, (as raised their stipend in some years to six score pounds each), but he declined, as much as he could, the performing, in his own person, all those offices where extraordinary perquisites or presents were to be of course expected, that his curates might receive the benefit of his people's generosity.

Amidst the variety of business that he went through, and frequent avocations from home while he lived upon his cure, he took no kind of diversion, unless the study of coins and medals may be called so*. For of these he was

* Coins and medals were his amusement and delight for several years after he was Archbishop. When he so improved and enlarged his collection, that at length it was inferior to few in England, especially in regard of the Saxon and English coins. He likewise wrote and left a large MS.

fond, and begun a collection very early, which, in progress of time, came to be large and curious. But his chief recreation and relief from his more necessary employments, and serious studies, was the conversation of learned and ingenious men; and for this he was happily situated; the town then affording him a set of acquaintance not only very knowing and judicious, but also very communicative; in whose agreeable and improving company, he spent his vacant and leisure hours. The chief of these were those celebrated London divines, who were the ornaments of that age; as Dr. Stillingfleet, Patrick, Beveridge, Cradock, Whichcot, Calamy, Scot, Sherlock, Wake, and Cave; and above all, his dear and fast friends, Dr. Tillotson and Dr. Claggett, with whom he enjoyed a more intimate conversation. They had frequent stated meetings and conferences at each other's houses (for it was a rule with Dr. Sharp, and probably with the rest too, not to frequent taverns, or places of public resort and entertainment,) at which they proposed such points of discourse, as they were desirous to have each other's judgement and opinion upon; and chiefly such subjects as pertained to their

account of them, in which some treatises respecting the English coins, and their proper marks of difference, have been thought, by good judges, very accurate and valuable.

own profession, or such passages of Scripture, as any of them purposed to treat of in the pulpit; which being freely talked over, and with a friendly unreservedness, contributed not a little to the clearing up their difficulties and resolving their doubts, unfolding and ranging their thoughts, directing and regulating the disposition of their matter, and, in short, to the making them sooner masters of their respective subjects, than they could have been by building, though never so industriously, on their own foundations, and pursuing their private searches and inquiries, though never so closely and attentively. And no doubt but it was much owing to the happy harmony that was between these great men *, and to their free communications with each other, that the Socinian and Popish controversies, and the debates about Nonconformity and Schism, were so excellently handled in those times, as well in their sermons

* Bishop Burnet bears his testimony to the characters of the Divines abovementioned, and some others, who, he says, "were worthy and eminent men among the Clergy, whose lives and labours did, in great measure, rescue the Church from those reproaches that the follies of others drew upon it; as Tension, Sharp, Patrick, Sherlock, Calamy, Claggett, Fowler, Cudworth, Williams, and others who deserved a high character, and were indeed an honour to the Church, and to the age in which they lived."

as in their other writings, which will remain lasting monuments of their great talents.

But it is time now to return to the thread of the narrative, which was broken off at Dr. Sharp's settlement in his house in Russel-street, in the year 1680. In the year following, 1681, his Majesty, King Charles, was pleased to bestow a mark of his royal favour upon him, viz. the Deanery of Norwich, vacant by the death of Dr. Astley. This preferment was obtained for him at the intercession of the Duke of York, and the Lord Arlington, and his patron the Lord Chancellor, who may be presumed to have been his principal friend upon this occasion.

This Deanery was the more acceptable to him because he had been a member of that church above six years, and was acquainted with the constitution and affairs of that body; nevertheless, that he might inform himself completely of every thing that was requisite to make him a *good governor*, he spent a great part of the following year, 1682, in looking over the ledger-books, and making himself master of the state of their revenues, and the extent of his own rights and privileges. His recesses, likewise, from London, which were now longer and more frequent than heretofore, were beneficial to him, as well as agreeable. For he not only had opportunity of studying more at leisure, and more

to his own satisfaction, than he could in town; but of recruiting his health and relieving himself from the fatigues of his parochial cure;— and, (what was still of more consequence to him) of improving in his spiritual life, through the advantages of retirement and disengagement from company and business, which Norwich afforded him; a remarkable instance of which blessing, (for so he esteemed it) shall be given in its proper place.

Towards the latter end of this year, 1682, died his friend, Sir John Finch; and within a month after him, viz. December 18, died his beloved lord and patron, the Earl of Nottingham: each of them leaving him legacies, as tokens of their esteem and friendship for him.

In the following year, 1683, he wrote his first book about Conscience, at the desire of the Bishop of London. To understand the reason why this province was particularly assigned him, it will be proper to look back to the head of a dispute with the Dissenters, about Conformity, which he himself had undesignedly opened near ten years before.

He had in the year 1674, while he was yet Domestic Chaplain to the Lord Keeper, and before he had any other preferment besides his Archdeaonry, preached before the Lord Mayor at Guildhall Chapel, upon the subject of the

Dissenters separation from the Established Church, which his lordship desired might be printed; and so it was; and is now the first sermon in his Collection. *In this discourse*, he shewed a great deal of sound reasoning, and a great deal of temper too, more than men at their first setting out into the world, and especially at his age, are usually masters of. He undertook in it the proof of the following propositions.

I. That every Christian, upon the very account of his being so, is a member of the Church of Christ, and is bound to join in external communion where it can be had.

II. That every one is bound to join in communion with the Established National Church to which he belongs, supposing there be nothing in the terms of its communion that renders it unlawful for him to do so.

III. That the being a member of any Church, doth oblige a man to submit to all the laws and constitutions of that Church.

IV. That we can have no just cause of withdrawing our communion from the Church whereof we are members, but when we cannot communicate with it without the commission of a sin.

V. That though we have a just cause to refuse communion with the Church whereof we

are members, in some instances ; yet we are not therefore to proceed to so total a separation from it, as to erect new Churches in contradistinction to it, or to join with those that do. This is never to be done unless a Church be so corrupted in doctrine and practice, that the salvation of all who communicate with her, is thereby endangered.

To these propositions, he spoke short and clearly ; and then proceeded to consider the several ways of preserving peace and charity with our Dissenting brethren. And very excellent rules he laid down for this purpose, but not having room within the compass of a sermon to go through his subject, he concluded with laying down such further heads of discourse, as he either had, or at least designed to have prosecuted, in order to complete his arguments. But as it was ordered to be printed in so unfinished a way, and it being the first sermon he sent to the press, he wrote a dedication in the first edition of it, to Sir William Hooker, and the Court of Aldermen, apologizing for this imperfection, in these words.

“ Right Honourable.—The following Discourse was never designed to go further than your own chapel, otherwise it had not been left so imperfect ; but since you have thought fit to

order it should be made public, it would ill become me, who do in it so earnestly press obedience to superiors, to dispute your commands. Such therefore as it is, I humbly present it to you; heartily wishing it may, in some degree, minister to the promoting peace and unity, and brotherly love among us, which is the only thing therein aimed at, by, Right Honourable,

Your most humble, and
most obedient servant,

J. SHARP."

But this sermon had not been long in print before it was attacked by an anonymous writer (supposed to be Mr. Wadsworth) who undertook to answer it. However, Mr. Sharp had this benefit from his mild and inoffensive way of managing the subject, that his adversary treated him with better temper, and in a gentler strain than is usual with men of that persuasion; as is remarked by the great Mr. Dodwell who undertook the defence of Mr. Sharp's discourse. For "the occasion of Mr. Dodwell's writing his book of Schism," to use the words of the learned author of Mr. Dodwell's Life, "was his being engaged in defence of an excellent sermon on Rom. xiv. 19, preached before the Lord Mayor, by the Rev. Mr. John Sharp, who was afterwards (in the judgment of all impartial persons

deservedly) placed in one of the highest dignities of our church. This," says he, "produced that elaborate book, entitled, Separation of Churches from Episcopal Government, as practised by the present Nonconformists, proved Schismatical."

Indeed, Mr. Dodwell confesses as much in his preface to his book of Schism, where he says, that "it was at first designed as a defence of that sermon, but having made some entrance upon it, he did not think it so convenient to be confined to another's method in delivering his own sentiments, nor to concern any particular author in the controversy; but rather to undertake the whole subject in a method most natural to his own conceptions of it. And the rather so, because most of the answerer's objections would have no place on his way of stating the controversy; and he could not think it worth his while to spend time on such things as were grounded on misunderstandings. But," says he, "I speak not this with the least design of disparaging the performance of the adversary, for the misunderstandings are no other than such as are common to him with the generality of the dissenting party."

And from hence we have a very good account how it came to pass that Mr. Sharp never replied to Mr. Wadsworth, or whomsoever it was

that undertook to answer his sermon. For he not only was acquainted with Mr. Dodwell's design, but it was agreed and concerted between them, that Mr. Dodwell's work should stand for an answer to the answerer of the sermon, though thrown, by him, into a new and more natural method to himself. For thus he writes in the preface abovementioned, "However, these considerations being approved by several of my worthy friends to whom I communicated them, and among others by the author of that excellent sermon, I easily obtained his leave to proceed in my own way. Yet I thought it convenient withal to give this warning of it, that the answerer, whoever he be, may know that his objections have been allowed for in my hypothesis, though they be not expressly mentioned; and that he may not look on the silence of his adversary as an argument of any neglect of him."

This seems to be the true state of the case, and not that Mr. Sharp employed Mr. Dodwell to undertake the dispute for him; as Mr. Brokesby, the author of *Mr. Dodwell's Life*, intimates in another place, where he says, "that Mr. D. wrote his book of *Schism* at the request of the late excellent Archbishop of York."

But it seems rather to have been Mr. Dodwell's own choice and motion; only as he was engaged in that subject, it was proper for him

to consult the man who had started it, and take his advice, and obtain his consent, as to any new method in which he proposed to handle it.

However, this book of Mr. Dodwell's was wrote against by Mr. Baxter in his True and only Way of Concord. Which drew a reply from Mr. Dodwell, published in 1681, where he shewed how little that chapter in Mr. Baxter's book which concerned himself, deserved to be called, (what it was entitled,) a Confutation of his book of Schism.

The controversy having proceeded thus far, Dr. Sharp at length (Anno 1683,) at the special request of the Bishop, put his hand to it, and gave it a finishing stroke. He did not set his name to his work, nor take any express notice of any thing that had been said for or against his sermon, in 1674; but, as if he were wholly disengaged from any concern in that dispute, he considered the dissenter's plea of conscience as a casuist, and entitled his book, "*A Discourse concerning Conscience,*" wherein an account is given of the nature, rule, and obligation of it; and the case of those who separate from the communion of the Church of England, as by law established, upon this pretence, that it is against their conscience to join in it, is stated and discussed.

In this discourse he treats fully and distinctly

of the conscience in general ; and, in his application to the case of dissenters, he fairly separates the several pretences of conscience, which are truly and justly made by them, from those which are false, viz. such as are mere pretences, and in reality foreign to the matter. And then he shews *distinctly who they are that may, and who they are that may not plead conscience for their nonconformity* ; and lastly, he inquires how far this plea of conscience, when truly made, will *justify* any dissenter who continues in separation from the church as established in this kingdom.

When he had finished, he put his papers into the hands of his friend Dr. Claggett, who published them for him, while he himself went down to Norwich to attend his business there.

But the next year, 1684, he prosecuted his argument further, and with more pains and accuracy. Now he undertook to resolve the case of a doubting conscience, viz. the case of those who separate from the Established Church, not because they are *fully* persuaded that they cannot lawfully join in our communion, but because they doubt whether they may lawfully join in it or no ; and therefore so long as they thus doubt, dare not venture to communicate, fearing they should sin against God if they should do any action of this consequence with a doubting mind.

This point he treated at large with great judgment and solidity; and considered both the nature, rule, and authority of a doubting conscience, and also the power *that human laws, ecclesiastical or civil, have of overruling it; or determining a man's doubts for him* in any matter. And in this work he had, as he used to say, covertly, and without naming of names, answered all that Mr. Wadsworth, or the other writer (for his sermon had been wrote against by more than one) had objected to him; and more especially what had been either omitted by Mr. Dodwell, or not answered altogether to his satisfaction.

The reader who peruses these discourses will find not only a wonderful clearness and exactness in the management of a deceitful and perplexed subject, and great sagacity and nicety in distinguishing, but the whole carried on and wrought up with a temper befitting so tender a subject as conscience is. He insists upon nothing further than he can make his appeal for, to every man's own reason and sense. And where he treats of the doubting conscience, his discourse is suited to reach, if possible, the very weakest side (which is ever the most inexpugnable) of an honest and sincere man. He seems not to write for the pleasure and satisfaction of those who have no doubts upon their minds, and who therefore are apt to judge too hardly of

those who have, and to be too much pleased with seeing the other's weakness exposed, but with such caution and yielding to natural infirmity and involuntary prejudices, as excludes all appearance of triumph in having the better of the argument; and scarce can fail to allure the attention, and prevent the displeasure at least, even of such whose doubts are not by reason to be surmounted.

And indeed Dr. Sharp, in all his casuistry, ever inclined to the milder determinations. He had himself experienced the strong effects of mistaken principles *early instilled into the mind*, and how vigorously *they resisted and embarrassed reason when ripe and mature*. He himself had felt the *pangs of a melancholy doubting mind*, though under great sincerity of intention and rectitude of will; and this taught him how to treat others who fell into the like misfortunes and unhappy ways of thinking, and how necessary it was to be soft and gentle with such tender consciences.

The substance of the two forementioned discourses was afterwards published by Dr. Bennet, at Cambridge, in the year 1700, in his Abridgment of the London Cases; and it was done very exactly, for he had received the author's own corrections of it, as he himself gives notice in his preface to the book.

But this controversy concerning schism was not the only dispute that accidentally took its rise from that sermon mentioned before; for it gave occasion to more books upon a different subject about thirty years after it was preached. By this means an anonymous author of a book intitled “An Essay towards a Proposal for Catholic Communion,” printed at London, 1704, 8vo, cited out of this sermon the Six Rules for promoting Peace and Church Communion, and made them the foundation of a new and undigested scheme of reconciling the Church of England with the Church of Rome. The author was pleased to stile himself “a Minister of the Church of England;” but the principles he espoused and the points he advanced do evidently show that he only assumed that character to render his performance less obnoxious to the Protestant reader; or, if he had been formerly a Minister of the Church of England, he was, without doubt, at the time of his writing this treatise reconciled to the Church of Rome, as they who answered him did pertinently observe. He showed himself however to be a man of parts and dexterity, and of sufficient learning, and gave a very specious turn to those rules, which Mr. Sharp had intended for reconciling the Dissenters to the Church of England, in order to press them into the service of the Church

of Rome. This book received three answers the year following, viz. 1705. One intitled “Concordia Discors, or Animadversions upon a late Treatise, intitled ‘an Essay for Catholic Communion,’ by a Presbyter of the Church of England.” The second was also by an anonymous writer, but publicly recommended by an advertisement from Dr. Fowler, Bishop of Gloucester. In this the essay itself was reprinted, and suitable observations made upon each section of it distinctly. The third and fullest reply was given by Mr. Nath. Spinckes, who, in his answer to the first chapter, destroys the pretended foundation which the author of the essay would be thought to build upon, by showing the perverse use he had made of Mr. Sharp’s rules, and the unfair deductions he had drawn from them; and sufficiently proving that they were not applicable to the purposes for which they were cited. To this defence of Mr. Spinckes in particular the reader is referred if he desire further satisfaction.

To return now to the account of Dr. Sharp’s labours and behaviour in St. Giles’s parish.

The face of public affairs was something changed in 1685, upon the death of King Charles and the accession of his brother to the throne. And the Established Church began to require *another kind of support* and defence from her

advocates than had been lately requisite. For whereas the debates with the Nonconformists were rather invitations of them into her bosom, and recommendations of her purity, and beauty, and external ornaments, than a contest about her essentials; so the dispute that was now on foot, or rather the war that was now commenced, was such as threatened her destruction;—and the point to be decided, whether she was a church or not. Whereby the clergy might see how necessary it was for them to arm themselves to fight *pro Aris*, as well as the lay-subjects *pro Focis*. Dr. Sharp was as sensible of the alarm as any of his brethren, as well prepared to act his part, and as resolute to do his duty.

The first Sunday after the King's death, and proclamation of his successor, he preached at his own church a serious sermon upon Providence; a subject which he thought not improper at that juncture.

He was desired to draw up the Address of the Grand Jury for the City of London, upon the King's happy accession; which he did in these words.

THE ADDRESS, &c.

“ May it Please Your Majesty;

“ Since we are the first in your Majesty's reign that are called to serve upon the Grand

Inquest for your City of London, we hope your Majesty, according to your wonted clemency, will give us leave among the rest of your good subjects to present ourselves at your Majesty's feet.

“ We do magnify the goodness of Divine Providence, that hath so peaceably and happily seated your Majesty in the throne of your royal ancestors, which all the world must own to be your undoubted right.

“ We do from the bottom of our hearts thank Almighty God, and your Majesty, for the gracious assurances you have given your people to maintain and support the government both in Church and State as established by law.

“ And as we have always endeavoured in our place and station, to approve ourselves loyal and dutiful subjects to your Majesty's dearly beloved brother, our late dread Sovereign of blessed memory, so (as it is our duty), we promise and resolve, with all the faith and sincerity in the world to serve your Majesty, your heirs and successors, to the utmost extremity.”

It has been remarked that most of the addresses upon this occasion ran in a warm; some think too warm a strain of loyalty. And possibly some objections may be made to the last expression of this address, of serving the King

(as upon a foot of duty), to the utmost extremity. But it is to be remembered, that although no man had a more unshaken loyalty than Dr. Sharp, or could be more firmly attached to the service and interest of his prince than he was; yet he never taught or held any principles of submission, but what were agreeable to the constitution. For he always laid down the laws of the land as the rule and measure of obedience. And therefore his general expressions should be understood with such limitations as the principles he professed, and to which he ever inviolably adhered, will admit of, or rather will confine them to.

Soon after the King's accession, he preached his Lent Course at Whitehall, viz. March 20, upon Luke xvi. 31. Concerning the evidences we have at this time of the truth of the Christian religion. This sermon was printed at the particular request of the Bishops who were then present. And (if he, who had a mean opinion of all his own performances, may be allowed to make a good judgment of any of them,) he so far himself approved of this discourse, as to think it the least exceptionable in his whole collection.

At the coronation, in the month following, he was one that walked among the chaplains and dignitaries that attended the solemnity. He

was afterwards appointed Chaplain in ordinary to his Majesty, and continued so till the Revolution; but this appointment was not till the next year, April 20, 1686.

In the mean time he was busied in giving good advice, and doing good offices to as many as applied themselves to him during the difficulties of the present administration of affairs. And he was able to do the more service for having the good luck to be in some kind of favour with the Lord Chancellor Jefferies, whose friendship he not only made use of for the sake of others, but experienced himself in his troubles, which soon succeeded. This year he obtained favour of his Lordship for Sheriff Cornish's, widow and children. Mr. Cornish had sent for Dr. Sharp and Dr. Calamy to attend him on the morning he was executed, which accordingly they both did, and the next day they went both together to my Lord Chancellor Jefferies, to plead on the behalf of that gentleman's family. His Lordship was exceeding angry and passionate for some time. But they desisted not, till they at length pacified and appeased him, and then had good success with their petition.

It was at the close of this year, that he joined with Dr. Busby, of Westminster, in an act of charity and respect to the Rev. Dr. John Pell, who had been Chaplain to Archbishop Sheldon,

and was a man of learning and worth, but died December 12, very poor and almost wanting necessaries. They caused him at their own charges to be decently interred in a vault in St. Giles's church, called the "Rector's Vault."

But not to interrupt the account during the following years of this reign with any more incidents of this kind, let the testimony of Sir John Chardin (who knew the Doctor at this time), supply the place of them all, as it is given in a letter which he wrote Anno 1703, in these words.

"If I am so free with the most eminent Archbishop of York, it is by remembering tenderly the Rev. Pastor of St. Giles's before the Revolution; his zeal with the Protestants; his fatherly concern for the persecuted and exiled; his incomparable writing and preaching in the defence of the truth and in advancement of Christian virtue," &c.

The next year, 1686, Dr. Sharp fell under the displeasure of the King, for treating upon some points in the Romish controversy in the pulpit. Whereby a handle was given to the court of proceeding against the worthy *Bishop of London*, who for refusing to suspend the Doctor was himself suspended by the Ecclesiastical Commissioners. Father *Orleans* in his *History of the Revolutions in England*, tells us that this

affair of Dr. Sharp, in which his diocesan was involved, gave rise to the *Ecclesiastical Commission*, the effects of which proved afterwards so prejudicial to the King and his affairs. And Bishop Burnet places the advising and erecting of that court after the Bishop of London's refusal to suspend the Doctor upon the difficulties that arose about a method of proceeding legally against him. It has indeed been assured from other hands, that the commission was actually granted in April, before the Doctor preached the sermon that gave offence, though it was not opened till the August following. But that this is a mistake appears from hence; that when the Bishop of London pleaded before the Commissioners, that he conceived their commission did not extend to the crime laid to his charge, because what he was accused of was before the date of the said commission; the Lord Chancellor did not deny the date of the commission to be subsequent to the offence, but alledged that it had retrospect to offences past.

However the Bishop and the Doctor were the first over whom that unprecedented authority, and illegal power, was exercised.

Their troubles on this occasion (particularly the Bishop's,) are taken notice of in most of the histories of these times. But because several things relating to Dr. Sharp's conduct in the

whole affair have not hitherto been published, and others have been misrepresented in the accounts that are made public, it may be proper in this place to give a more particular and exact narrative of the whole matter.

The King, in the beginning of this year, had been advised, as the supreme ordinary of the Church of England, to command the reprinting of the *Directions for Preachers*, which had been given by the late King, in 1662; and to authorize them afresh by letters mandatory to the two Archbishops; not considering the difference of seasons, and disparity of circumstances the King was then in, in respect of his Protestant predecessors, whose practice it had been, when there was occasion, to restrain the liberties of the pulpit. And the consequence was, that the jealousies of the Church of England against the King, instead of being abated, were increased; and people's fears every day grew greater concerning the designs which the court was supposed to be carrying on. So that some of the clergy, notwithstanding the abovementioned directions to them, continued as before, to preach pretty zealously against Popery. Dr. Sharp was one of those who would not at this time drop the Popish controversy. And he was the rather kept to it by the perpetual attempts which he found were made by the Popish priests

upon his parishioners. And as he was a popular preacher upon those arguments, he was carefully watched after the publication of the Directions to Preachers, as a person likely to offend against that order.

It was on the 2nd of May that he preached in his own church upon 1 Cor. xii. 13. From this text he took occasion to treat concerning the nature of the *Catholic Church*, and to settle the true notion of that term as it stands in our creeds. Having done that, at the close of his sermon, he drew six conclusions from what he had said, against the Church of Rome; to show the vanity of her pretensions in engrossing the name of Catholic to herself. But these he chose rather to propose by way of inquiry than assertion, that he might be led to a more equal and just examination of them, which he proposed to do afterwards with great particularity, had he been suffered to have prosecuted the subject in the manner he intended. Now the first of these queries which he designed to speak to the next Lord's Day, was this, whether upon the true stating of the notion of the Catholic Church, the question that the Romanists laid so much stress upon, viz. in what part of the world, or in which of the different communions of Christendom the true church was to be found, be not quite impertinent and out of doors?

As he came out of the pulpit a paper was put into his hands by an unknown person, containing an argument for the right that the Church of Rome had to the stile and title of the only visible Catholic Church.

This probably was drawn up hastily, (for it was not well expressed,) by one of his auditors, who observed by the conclusion of his sermon, what point he was next to proceed upon, and who either desired satisfaction as to that argument, or designed to put him to a difficulty.

The Doctor looking upon this as a kind of challenge, and not knowing to whom he should send an answer, and being at that time engaged in that very question, took an opportunity in his next sermon, preached May 9, to conclude with a particular confutation of this paper. What he said against it, and in what manner he introduced it, will best appear from the very words themselves which he then delivered; and which will be found in the 7th volume of his Sermons, published 1735, from p. 13 to 148.

It was this conclusion or appendix to his second sermon on the above said text which gave the offence, or rather which gave the handle to such as sought occasion to misrepresent him to the King. And this is what Father *Orleans*, who knew nothing of the matter, calls “*la Saillie de Sharp* ;” and for which he stiles him “*un homme*

emporté," a hot forward man; and "le Curé de clamateur," the railing Parson*. Nay, he takes upon him to affirm that Dr. Sharp in his sermon inveighed against the Catholics in such a manner as the most zealous Protestants disapproved and thought too violent. "Un homme Sharp," says he, "Curé de Saint Giles se rendit remarquable sur cette matiere, et mela dans un de ses sermons des invectives contre les Catholiques, que les plus zeléz Protestans disapprouverent, et jujerent trop violentes."

The reader must judge from the passage itself how far either Protestants or Catholics had reason to be offended at it. It is evident there are no personal reflections in it, no insinuations about the administration of the government, nor any thing that tends to sedition. He opposes himself only to some false principles and positions, the refutation of which was at that time of great consequence. And if he does it with greater briskness and tartness than is usual to be met with in his writings, it should be remembered that he was disturbed very much about that time with the Romish priests tampering with his parishioners, and likewise that he looked upon

* This is the expression used by Echard in his translation of Father Orleans' "History of the Revolutions in England." Second Edition, p. 289.

this paper as a sort of challenge, which if he had not undertaken, would have been interpreted by them as yielding to the strength of the argument.

Neither ought he to be charged, as the French writer abovementioned thinks fit to charge him, with wilfully transgressing the king's injunctions. For the points prohibited were only *matters of state*, rights of sovereign and subjects, and such questions in divinity as were nice and difficult, and merely speculative, which had formerly occasioned great troubles in the nation, and particularly the doctrine of predestination and free-will. But the controversy with the Church of Rome, and particularly that question, *Whether the Church of England was a church, or no church?* could not possibly be reckoned among the prohibited questions in King Charles's instructions, in 1662, nor consequently in those instructions revived by King James; though it might be presumed the design of the court in republishing them, was to put a stop, or at least give a check to the clergy's proceeding in the Romish controversy in their sermons.

But how unblameable soever the Doctor himself might be in this affair, yet his sermon gave an opportunity to informers to represent what he had said in a quite different construction from what he intended. The allegory, or allusion, to

a civil case, which he had made use of in his argument, was a thing easy to be remembered, and yet liable to be diversified according to the humour of the relators.

And the last sentences in the sermon, concerning those who depart from the Church of England and embrace Popery, might be construed as a reflection on the King, *whose case that was*, as Bishop Burnet well observes. But the chief thing that seems to have occasioned the informations at court, and given them countenance there, was a mistaken notion of several of the Doctor's auditors, that the paper which he undertook to refute was the same that had been found in the late king's strong box; and that he had attacked, and seemed to triumph over that very argument which was thought to be, in the judgment of his late majesty, invincible. All this indeed was a mistake: but notwithstanding it quickly spread in the town, and no wonder if the report was carried to the King himself. In fine, it was represented to the court as if the Doctor had endeavoured, by that sermon, to shew his contempt of the King's late orders concerning preachers, to foment divisions among his Majesty's subjects, and to reflect upon his Majesty's person as well as government.

“The information,” says Bishop Burnet, “as

to the words pretended to be spoken by Sharp, was false, as he himself assured me."

But what his lordship adds is a mistake, and what most certainly he never had from Dr. Sharp, namely, that Sharp went to court to shew his notes, which he was ready to swear were those from which he had read it; by which the falsehood of the information would appear. Dr. Sharp was never forward to go to court, or to *swear* any thing, but when first called upon by proper authority; and in this case his doing so would not have helped him, for his notes being all in cyphers, or characters, the falsehood of the information, had he sworn to them, would not thereby have appeared more than it did before; only he would have appeared himself, what by his more prudent conduct he did not. For he troubled not himself about any reports of informations against him, till Lord Chancellor Jefferies sent for him, and acquainted him with the King's displeasure at what had been said concerning his preaching. This was a fortnight after the sermon was preached, being Whitsunday, May 23, in the evening; whereas the sermon which Dr. Sharp understood had given the offence, was preached by him on the 9th of the same month. His lordship having informed him of the accusation laid against him, and of his Majesty's resentment thereupon; Dr. Sharp the

next day waited upon his lordship with the notes of his sermon, and read it over to him. Whether the Doctor did this for his own justification, and to satisfy his lordship that he had been misrepresented, or whether my lord ordered him to bring his sermon and repeat it before him, is not certain; but the latter seems most probable: because Dr. Sharp afterwards understood that his lordship's design in sending for him and discoursing with him, was, that he might tell the King that he had reprimanded the Doctor, and that he was sorry for having given occasion of offence to his Majesty; hoping by this means to release Dr. Sharp from any further trouble. However it was, his lordship took upon him, while the Doctor was reading over his sermon, to chide him for several passages which the Doctor thought gave no occasion for chiding; and he desired his lordship when he objected to these less obnoxious passages, to be patient, for there was a great deal worse yet to come. In fine, his lordship having reproved him for what he thought proper, and as much as would answer his design, seemed well enough satisfied with the rest of the discourse, and so dismissed him.

Not long after this, Sir Richard Lloyd and Sir Thomas Exton were sent for to Windsor, for their opinion about ordering the Bishop of London to suspend Dr. Sharp; but what opinion

they gave is not known. In the mean time the Doctor was more sensibly touched with a domestic affliction, for he lost two of his sons in two days, and buried them both on the third day; and on the day that followed that, the King sent his letter to the Bishop of London, which was delivered to his lordship at Fulham, on Thursday, June 17th, by Mr. Atterbury the messenger, and was as follows:

“ JAMES R.

“ Right Reverend Father in God.

“ We greet you well. Whereas we have been informed and are fully satisfied that Dr. John Sharp, Rector of the parish church, Saint Giles’s in the Fields, in the county of Middlesex, and in your diocese, notwithstanding our late letter to the most Reverend Fathers in God, the Archbishops of Canterbury and York, and our directions concerning preachers, given at our court at Whitehall the 15th day of March, 1685, in the second year of our reign. Yet he the said Dr. Sharp, in contempt of the said orders, hath in some of his sermons since preached, presumed to make unbecoming reflections, and to utter such expressions as were not fit or proper for him, endeavouring thereby to beget, in the minds of his hearers, an evil opinion of us and our government, by insinuating fears and jealousies

to dispose them to discontent, and to lead them into disobedience and rebellion. These are therefore to require and command you immediately upon receipt hereof, forthwith to suspend him from further preaching in any parish church or chapel in your diocese, until he hath given us satisfaction, and our further pleasure be known herein. And for your so doing this shall be your warrant, and so we bid you heartily farewell. Given at our court at Windsor the 14th day of June, 1686, in the second year of our reign. By his majesty's command.

“SUNDERLAND.”

The most that hath been or can be said in favour of this step which the King was advised to take, rests upon the following *suppositions or presumptions*; for so they are, rather than reasons or arguments. 1st. That the offence charged upon Dr. Sharp amounted to an *ipso facto* suspension by our constitutions. Nay, if the opinions of the judges, given in the case of the Puritans, were to be allowed good, it was an offence *fineable at discretion*, and very near to treason; and consequently a degradation and deprivation should rather have followed than a suspension. Therefore the King, in this method which he pursued, took the very mildest course with the Doctor, especially as the suspension

which he directed was not *ab officio* totally, but only from one branch of his office, namely, preaching within the diocese of London, till his Majesty had received satisfaction. 2d. That where an ecclesiastical superior or judge declares any sentence *virtute et vi canonis*, there is no need of any judicial process previous to the sentence; the delinquent having fallen under it *a jure*, and therefore the ordinary acts not herein as judge, but as *custos canonum*. That *ipso facto* excommunications (and *ipso facto* suspensions are of the like kind and upon the same footing) are decreed by the very canons themselves, and have their validity from thence, in like manner as *ipso facto* deprivations are established by our laws, namely, in certain cases when a benefice shall be void without any declaratory sentence in the ecclesiastical court. That therefore what was required by the King of the Bishop of London, in the order to suspend Dr. Sharp, was not that he should decree it as a judge, but declare it as a party concerned and engaged in defence of the canons, and in the preservation of the laws of the church.

And 3d. That when the King, as supreme ordinary, had informed himself of the offence laid to the Doctor's charge, and was thereupon fully satisfied of the truth of it, the Bishop of London not only ought, when required to de-

clare him suspended, but would of necessity impeach his Majesty's ecclesiastical supremacy, if he refused or disputed his commands herein.

It may easily be supposed these suggestions might have weight enough with the King at that time, to persuade him that his orders to the Bishop were of sufficient authority, since they have had weight enough *since that time with some people*, to induce them to think they would in great measure justify his letter. But the Bishop himself was of another opinion, so were all the men of the law whom he consulted. They held it undoubted that Dr. Sharp could not legally be *punished by suspension without being first admitted to make a legal defence*. That his Majesty's command being directed to a judge, and in consequence being a command to act as a judge, was rendered inconsistent, and obedience to it made it impracticable by requiring him to act not as a judge, but arbitrarily and contrary to law and justice. Nothing could seem harder upon the Bishop than such an injunction. The utmost compliance that could be made, or the most effectual obedience that could be paid to it was this, to desire or to advise the Doctor not to preach till they saw some issue to the present difficulty. For a Bishop's advice is in some sense an admonition, which has the face of a judicial proceeding, and

to silence him by such admonition, came the nearest, (and was indeed, if submitted to, tantamount) to the suspending him from preaching, which was all that the King had required. Therefore this method was agreed upon by the Bishop and the civilians, and Dr. Sharp was ordered by his Lordship to meet him at Doctors' Commons on June the 18th, (the day after the King's letter was delivered.) He did so, about noon the same day, and the Bishop giving him to understand his Majesty's displeasure, desired and advised him to forbear the pulpit till the King's further pleasure was known. Which the Doctor though already determined so to do of himself, did promise the Bishop in form. Whereupon his Lordship wrote the following letter to Lord Sunderland, President of the Council, and dispatched it by the hands of Dr. Sharp.

“ My Lord,

“ I always have and shall count it my duty to obey the King in whatever commands he lays upon me, that I can perform with a safe conscience. But in this I humbly conceive I am obliged to proceed according to *law*, and therefore it is impossible for me to comply, because though his Majesty commands me only to execute his pleasure, yet in the capacity I am to do

it I must act as a *judge*. And your Lordship knows no judge condemns any man before he hath knowledge of the cause, and hath cited the party. However I sent to Mr. Dean and acquainted him with his Majesty's displeasure, whom I find so ready to give all reasonable satisfaction, that I have thought fit to make him the bearer of this answer from him that will never be unfaithful to the King or otherwise than,

“ My Lord,
 “ Your Lordship's most humble servant,
 “ H. LONDON.”

On the same day the Doctor drew up his own petition to the King in the terms following, as taken from the original petition.

“ TO THE KING'S MOST EXCELLENT MAJESTY.

“ The humble Petition of John Sharp, Clerk.

“ Sheweth,

“ That it is very grievous to your petitioner to be so unhappy as to have incurred your Majesty's displeasure.

“ That from the time he heard of it to this present he hath forborn to preach.

“ Your petitioner can with great sincerity affirm, that ever since he hath been a preacher, he hath faithfully endeavoured to do the best

service he could in his place and station, as well to the late King, your royal brother, as to your Majesty, both by preaching and otherwise.

“ And so far hath he always been from venting any thing in the pulpit tending to schism or faction, or any way to the disturbance of your Majesty’s government, that he hath upon all occasions, in his sermons, to the utmost of his power, set himself against all sorts of doctrines and principles that look that way. And this he is so well assured of, that he cannot but apprehend that his sermons have been very much misrepresented to your Majesty.

“ But if in any sermon of his any words or expressions have unwarily slipt from him, liable to such construction as to give your Majesty cause of offence; as he solemnly protests he had no ill intention in those words or expressions, so he is very sorry for them; and resolves for the future to be so careful in the discharge of his duty, that your Majesty shall have reason to believe him to be your most faithful subject.

“ And therefore he earnestly prayeth, that your Majesty, of your royal grace and clemency, would be pleased to lay aside the displeasure you have conceived against your humble petitioner, and restore him to that fa-

vour which the rest of your Clergy enjoy under your Majesty's gracious government.

“ So shall your petitioner ever pray,” &c.

With this and the Bishop of London's letter, the Doctor went the next day, being Saturday, June 19, to Hampton Court, where a council was held, and the King present. He delivered the Bishop's letter to the Lord Sunderland, who only asked him “ whether the Bishop had obeyed the order ?” He told him, No. And that was all that passed between them. As for the petition, the Doctor could not get it received ; but waited there till the council broke up, and all the members were gone ; and then returned to town with the Lord Nottingham, who had carried him thither.

Had the Bishop's letter to the Lord President been taken notice of, and Dr. Sharp's petition been received and read, the matter might well have ended here ; but the silencing of the Doctor was not so much the thing intended. The censure was evidently levelled more at the Bishop of London than at the Doctor ; and having got hereby some handle against his lordship, the court seized the opportunity, and seemed determined to make all the advantages they could of it. But as yet it did not appear where the storm was most likely to fall, Dr. Sharp was

still advised to attend with his petition, which he accordingly did a week after, on June 26, at Windsor, whither the court was removed, and he put his petition into Lord Middleton's hands, who, the next day, June 27, told his Majesty of it at the Cabinet Council; but his Majesty would not suffer it to be read. The Lord Rochester had promised the Doctor to be his friend, and no doubt he was so, as far as he could. The Doctor, finding no hopes of favour at this time, returned the next day to London; but he was afterwards assured, that there were spies upon him all the time he staid at Windsor, and that if he had gone into any public house, stories would have been made upon it;—but it fortunately happened, that he lodged and staid the whole time with Mr. Jones, in the College, and so gave no opportunities for scandal of any kind.

Upon this the Lord Chancellor Jefferies advised Dr. Sharp to get out of the way, who thereupon, after two days stay in London, went down to Norwich, July 1, where he continued till the middle of December unmolested; in which time, as he says himself, they had done the Bishop of London's work. For the court having got a plausible pretence of mortifying that worthy prelate, and *in his person the whole body of the clergy*, and a good opportunity of

trying whether they could intimidate the rest from preaching on those subjects, the handling of which still checked and stopped the growth of Popery in the kingdom, resolved to proceed against his lordship for disobeying, as it was termed, the King's injunctions. To this end, the *Ecclesiastical Commission* was opened in the beginning of August, in the Council Chamber at Whitehall, and the Bishop was cited thither, and appeared on the 9th, and 15th, and 31st. On the last of which days, the cause came to a full hearing, and was brought to a sentence or decree of suspension; an account of which is given in all the histories of King James's reign. But for the reader's satisfaction, a large and more particular abstract of the process on the 31st of August, than hath been hitherto published, is inserted in the Appendix *. The commission itself may be found in the third volume of the *Complete History of England*, p. 454; where likewise the pleas and answers delivered into court in writing, by the Bishop, may be met with, p. 458 and 459.

To return to Dr. Sharp, who remained at Norwich unmolested during the course of these proceedings, and for some time after, till he received information from his friends in London, that if he would come up to town, he might

* App. II. No. I.

be restored ; upon which he left Norwich and repaired to London, where, in company with his brother Rawlinson, he waited on the Lord Chancellor, (Dec. 22,) who was very civil, and intreated him kindly, notwithstanding his late very different usage of the Bishop of London. His lordship advised the Doctor to draw up his petition again, and employ some friend, naming Mr. Henry Guy, (then Secretary of the Treasury) to hand it to Lord Sunderland. Accordingly he waited upon Mr. Guy, and gave him the same petition that he had offered at Hampton Court, and again to no purpose, at Windsor. But Mr. Guy having perused it, said it was too long, and would not do : and ordered the Doctor to draw up one in two or three lines, acknowledging his being sorry for having incurred the King's displeasure, and desiring it might be removed, and not *to meddle with reasons and apologies*. This the Doctor did immediately, in the words following.

“ TO THE KING'S MOST EXCELLENT MAJESTY.

“ The Humble Petition of John Sharp, Clerk.

“ Sheweth,

“ That it is a grievous affliction to your petitioner to have incurred your Majesty's displeasure, for the which he is most heartily sorry, and promiseth, for the future, to behave him-

self in all things as becomes a most dutiful and loyal subject.

“ And therefore, humbly prays your Majesty of your royal grace and clemency, to restore him to that liberty of his function which the rest of your Clergy enjoy, under your Majesty’s gracious government.

“ So shall your petitioner ever pray,” &c.

This petition was presented and received ; and the Doctor immediately received the following letter from my Lord Sunderland.

“ *Whitehall, Jan. 9, 1686-7.*

“ Sir,

“ I have read your petition to the King, who is pleased to accept of your *submission*, and commands me upon it to acquaint you, that he allows you to return to the exercise of your function, as formerly.

“ I am, Sir, your friend and servant,

“ SUNDERLAND, P.”

Thus ended the matter. Dr. Sharp never certainly knew who it was that laid the information against him. But the person who was chiefly charged with bringing this affair upon him, thought fit at the Revolution, to take sanctuary and shelter under Doctor Sharp’s character. For he sent all his plate and valuable

things to him to Great Russel-street, where they were secured faithfully, and taken care of, till all apprehension of danger was over.

During the times of his troubles, Mr. White, the engraver, applied to him for his picture, believing, that if it was printed and published, it would sell mighty well. But the same reasons that induced Mr. White to ask this favour, prevented the Doctor from granting it; therefore, he told the engraver, he would upon no consideration consent to such a proposal. Upon which Mr. White changed his request, and desired only that he would promise him to let him take his picture when he was a Bishop. To which the Doctor, supposing himself safe in such promise, readily consented. And it was wholly in regard to this promise, when claimed, that he allowed Mr. White to publish his print of him, after he was promoted to York.

In the meanwhile, after he returned to the exercise of his function, his time was chiefly taken up with the Popish controversy. For the Papists, during his late absence, had been very busy in his parish; so that, upon his return, he was much taken up in answering their prayers and queries, detecting their sophistries, and in preserving his parishioners secure from all their attacks. And in this sort of work he employed the greatest part of the year 1687.

Several of the papers wrote by him at this time, are now published at the end of the seventh volume of his Sermons.

On Wednesday, March 28, 1688, his dear friend, Dr. Claggett, died. He never lamented any loss so much. And though he could not refuse paying his last respects to his deceased companion, by preaching his funeral sermon, at Bassishaw Church, where Dr. Claggett had been lecturer, yet, he used to say, that never any task was more grievous to him than this was. The same night he brought home Mrs. Claggett, the disconsolate widow, to his own house, and treated her with the utmost tenderness and affection, the little time she survived her husband. Dr. Claggett indeed, and he, had all along lived with the greatest familiarity and most entire confidence in each other, that was to be imagined. They not only communicated studies, but often carried them on together. For the former not being so well furnished with books as the latter, occasioned his frequently making use of Dr. Sharp's library, which he did as if it were his own, coming in when he pleased with the freedom of a domestic, and prosecuting his enquiries as he pleased, without the least ceremony used, or interruption given on either side. Indeed, if similitude of temper and manners, if equality of age, and perfect conformity

of inclinations and studies, usually make (as is thought) the truest and most delightful friendships; then these two persons needed only to be known to each other, to create a mutual endearment: but so it happened with them, that their friendship was more firmly cemented, and their correspondence rendered more intimate, by being engaged in the same labours, the same controversies. In carrying on of which, they seemed animated with the same zeal, affected with the same piety, and influenced by the same modesty. They recommended and published each others writings, not only with more confidence, but with more pleasure than they did their own. Nor did Doctor Sharp ever do any thing for his friend that seemed to give himself trouble, but the preaching at his funeral*.

Such friendships as these being rare, and a real credit to the parties engaged in them, it

* How valuable a man this was, and how much Dr. Sharp esteemed and loved him, will best appear from a passage or two of the Funeral Sermon above-mentioned, and from the Preface which Doctor Sharp wrote to the first volume of his friend's Sermons, which were soon published, as well for the honour and credit of the departed Author, as for the public benefit.

Both these will be found in the Appendix. App. I. No. I. and No. II.

seems a piece of justice due to both their memories, not to omit an opportunity, fairly given, of setting forth so remarkable a character of their private lives, and therefore this digression needs no excuse.

Not long after Dr. Claggett's death, the town was alarmed and filled with variety of sentiments concerning the birth of a Prince of Wales. Sunday, June 17, was appointed the Thanksgiving Day for her Majesty's happy delivery. On which day Dr. Sharp and Dr. Wake changed pulpits, and the former preached (upon, *How shall we escape, if we neglect so great Salvation,*) a plain, practical sermon, and said not one word about any matter that his text had no relation to.

On the Friday following, he went down to Norwich, where the church required his attendance: and there spent his time chiefly in examining into the state of his own soul, and improving himself in all Christian virtues and graces. Now it was that he entered upon a more strict and excellent way of living than he had heretofore attained to, and which it was ever after the main business of his life to labour in, and bring to perfection. But this shall be related in a more convenient place.

He returned to London on August 13, to consult with his brethren the Archdeacons, who

were summoned to appear before the Ecclesiastical Commissioners, to shew cause why they had not obeyed the King's orders with respect to the *Declaration*. The orders had been given, July 12; and were directed to all Chancellors, Archdeacons, Commissaries, and Officials, to enquire strictly within their respective jurisdictions, in what churches or chapels his Majesty's Declaration had been read or omitted, &c. And to transmit an account thereof.

The 16th of August was the day appointed for their respective appearance. Upon this the Archdeacons met at Doctors' Commons, and consulted together on the 14th and 15th: and there it was agreed by the majority, that none of them should appear on the day following. Upon which Dr. Sharp, on the 17th, retired again to Norwich. What his sentiments were about the order for reading the Declaration will best appear from a short paper, drawn up by him about this time, either for his own defence, or for the conviction of such as applied to him for advice on this occasion: wherein, though he acknowledges the King's prerogative to be higher *in licitis et honestis*, not only than the Bishop's, but than the Metropolitan's too, yet he doth not allow the aforesaid *order* ought to be complied with. The paper is this.

“ All the law that I know of, which relates to

the publishing or declaring things in the Church, is the Rubric in the Communion Service which follows after the Nicene Creed. ‘Nothing shall be proclaimed or published in the Church during the time of divine service, but what is prescribed by the rules of this book, or enjoined by the King, or by the Ordinary of the place.’

“ I take it, that by this Rubric we are *equally* obliged to publish in the Church what is enjoined us by the King, as what is enjoined us by the Ordinary. And I have reason for this conclusion, because, as parish ministers, we have taken an oath to obey our Ordinaries *in all lawful and honest things*; and a *higher obligation* cannot be laid upon us to obey the King.

“ Taking now this for granted, I would ask, whether supposing our Ordinary should enjoin us to publish some *declarations* of his about matters, which we were convinced in our judgment to be *against the known laws and constitutions of this Church and realm*, and likewise to be highly prejudicial to the interests of the Protestant Religion, which we do profess, we should think ourselves obliged by *our oath of canonical obedience*, to comply with such an injunction of our Ordinary? If it be said, we should not think ourselves obliged, I then say, neither can we think ourselves obliged to publish such a *declaration* if it comes from the King.

“ The only plausible thing that can be objected against this, is, that this way of reasoning makes the Bishop’s authority over the Clergy to be equal to the King’s. I answer by no means. All that is meant is, that by the Rubric we are as much bound to publish what is enjoined us by the Bishop, as what is enjoined us by the King. And we are sworn to obey the Bishop, *in licitis et honestis*, which is all the active obedience we owe to the King. But, then there is this vast difference between the authority of one and of the other. As we are parish ministers we are bound in *licitis et honestis* to obey our Ordinaries. But if his superior, our Metropolitan gives us contrary commands, then we must obey the Metropolitan, and not the Ordinary. And if the King, who is by our constitution, the supreme head of the church, do controul the jurisdiction of the Metropolitan, then we are released from all obligations to comply with the Metropolitan, and must obey the King. So that where there happens a clashing of legal orders or jurisdictions we are certainly bound to obey the King, rather than our Bishop or Archbishop. But then even our obedience to the King is to be extended no further than *licita et honesta*.”

Thus far the paper.

But to return. The commissioners finding no

effect of this order, published a second, directing and commanding the aforesaid Ecclesiastical officers to make this a matter of their inquiry at their visitations, which they were required to hold before the 15th of November following, and to transmit an account thereof before the 6th of December. But *Providence prevented a return of this inquiry.*

For now came on that surprising change and happy turn of affairs, which released the Clergy of the Church of England, and all good Protestants from the difficulties that surrounded them, and the great dangers that threatened them. During the several steps of which transaction Dr. Sharp preserved the character that befitted his station, by a conduct that best suited with his calling. He divided his time between his two churches of Norwich and St. Giles's, though not a little interrupted in his services to both by a severe fever that he had in October. *He never in his life meddled or interposed in affairs of state, further than was incumbent upon him by virtue of his station and office.* This was his principle, which he adhered to both at this time and ever after. Nor did the change of any man's private fortunes and condition through the alteration of the time, tempt him to forget private and personal obligations; which principle of gratitude induced him to

make a visit (which were not his motive to it known, would appear very unseasonable), to the Lord Chancellor Jefferies in his great disgrace and distress in the Tower. But the Doctor remembered his Lordship had been a friend to him in his own troubles, and thought proper to acknowledge his sense of his Lordship's kindness in this manner. My Lord was not a little surprised at his constancy, as appears by his salutation of him at his first entrance into the room, in these words: "*What, dare you own me now?*" The Doctor seeing his condition judged he should not lose the opportunity of being serviceable to his Lordship as a divine, if it was in his power to be so; and freely expostulated with him upon his public actions, *and particularly the affair in the west.* To which last charge, his Lordship returned this answer, "that he had done nothing in that affair without the advice and concurrence of Who now," said he, "is the darling of the people." His Lordship further complained much of the reports that went about concerning him, particularly that of his giving himself up to hard drinking in his confinement; which he declared was grounded upon nothing more than his present seasonable use of punch, to alleviate the pressures of stone or gravel under which he then laboured.

Neither did Dr. Sharp quit his allegiance to King James, or cease to acknowledge him to be his sovereign, till both Houses of Parliament had declared his desertion of the government and kingdom to be properly an *abdication* of them, and had thereupon filled the throne, in which settlement he acquiesced. Of this he gave a remarkable instance upon an occasion that sufficiently tried both his principles and courage. The convention opened Jan. 24th; during the debates upon the great and important subject of the King's abdication and vacancy of the throne, he was appointed to preach on Sunday, Jan. 27th, before the Prince of Orange, and on Wednesday the 30th, before the House of Commons. And in his prayer on both occasions he did as *usual pray for King James*. His doing so upon the first occasion was not so much, because neither of the Houses had yet come to any declaration. But his doing it on the Wednesday following, after the Commons had passed their vote that King James had abdicated, and the throne was vacant (which vote passed on Monday Jan. 28th) was taken amiss by several members as a contradiction of their vote; though it should have been remembered that as yet the Lords had not concurred with them, and as yet the *service of the Church was not altered by authority*. However, after some warm disputes

among them they voted him thanks. There is a memorandum in Dr. Sharp's own hand under the vote of thanks which was sent him in these words.

“ *Veneris 1^{mo} die Feb.*, 1688.—Resolved, *Ne-mine Contradicente*, That the Thanks of this House be given to Dr. Sharp, Dean of Norwich, for his Sermon preached before this House on Wednesday last, and that he be desired to print the same. And that Sir John Knight, and Mr. Auditor Done, do acquaint him with such, the thanks and desire of this House.

“ PAUL JODRELL, Cl. D. C.”

“ This sermon here desired to be printed, was that which I preached on Jan. 30, after the House had made a vote, that King James had abdicated. Nevertheless in my prayer before sermon, I prayed for King James as I used to do. At which, and I believe, at some passages in the sermon, great offence was taken by several of the warm men in the House of Commons. And complaint was made by the Speaker, Mr. Powel, to the House that very afternoon. Upon which a great debate arose, which took up all their time that night, but nothing was concluded. The next day, being the 31st of January, was the day of thanksgiving for the arrival of the Prince of Orange. And then Dr. Burnet preached before the House. The day after when the House was

set, the first motion that was made was for 'Thanks,' &c. for iny sermon, which produced this vote, Sir John Knight made the motion. But *for all this order I did not print my sermon.*"

Thus far for his own memorandum.

It seems when he perceived that he had displeased some gentlemen by the very mention of the Jesuits doctrine of deposing of kings (which he did in the latter part of his sermon,) he was unwilling to give further offence to as many as should think proper to construe what he said as a reflection on the proceedings of the House. For though he always thought it his duty in the pulpit both to speak to the point, and to speak to the plain truth; yet wherever he could avoid giving unnecessary offence no man was more careful to do so.

This sermon had been composed in King Charles the Second's reign, viz. in 1679. And had been often preached without offence, and the words which were thought obnoxious on this occasion, were penned at a time when it was impossible the preacher should have any design of reflecting on a procedure that was not then dreamed of.

But least what he said or may be reported to have said on this occasion, should hereafter be imputed to a disposition which never was his, it

may not be improper to give the reader that particular passage, which only can, by any construction, be thought to have any untoward or offensive look at so critical a juncture.

“ Had this been done,” said he, speaking of the King’s murder, “ in a Popish country, where the *deposing and murdering of Princes* is allowed ; nay, and sometimes encouraged and promoted by the pretended infallible Vicar of Christ, it had been no such great wonder. But to be done in a Protestant country, nay, and a country that *hath always gloried that, by the principles of her establishment, she hath given the best security to princes for their persons and their rights that any Protestant country in Europe hath done* :—Oh, what a wound is this to our religion, and what a blemish doth it cast upon it ! ‘ *Tell it not in Gath, publish it not in the streets of Askelon, lest the daughters of the Philistines rejoice, lest the daughters of the uncircumcised triumph* *.’ ”

This seems to be the obnoxious passage referred to by Dr. Sharp in his memorandum, which displeased certain members. But Dr.

* The remainder of this sermon containing an answer to the Roman Catholics for reproaching the Church of England with the King’s murder, which might likewise in the opinions of some be unseasonable at this nice conjuncture, is thrown into the Appendix. Appendix I. No. III.

Burnet happening to preach before them the day following, being the Thanksgiving for the Prince of Orange's arrival, had put these gentlemen into so good humour again, that they dropt the resentments they had taken up on their day of Fasting, and allowed a vote of thanks to Dr. Sharp to pass unanimously. And it is certain no displeasure was taken at Court from what had happened, for on that day fortnight, being the first Friday in Lent, he was appointed to preach before the Queen, and was taken into no small favour by her Majesty.

In the former part of this year, 1689, Dr. Sharp and his friend Dr. Tillotson had a good deal of trouble upon their hands, and no small share of their time taken up with a trust which they were engaged in by Alderman Ask. He dying and leaving considerable effects had made them joint executors of his will, and made the Haberdasher's Company his heirs. And among several other legacies had left each of the executors £200, and £400 to twenty such poor clergymen as they should nominate.

The executors were so prudent as to let the agents of the Company (whose concern in this matter was the greatest) have the custody of all the ready money and bonds that were found belonging to the deceased; or at least they were put into some common hand, trusted by

both parties, till the will was completely executed. Nor was there any thing transacted relating to this trust from the time that the will was opened, to the time of their surrendering all their concerns into the hands of the Company, but in the presence and with the advice and consent of the deputies of the Company, particularly Sir Thomas Vernon and Mr. Mould, which latter kept the accounts of all things done in this affair. This caution of theirs proved afterwards of great use, by enabling them to give full satisfaction to some who had suspected, upon false suggestions made to them, that the executors had disposed of some of the Alderman's effects before they delivered in the schedules to the Company. And this being suggested at a time when they were both Metropolitans, would have been something more than a blot upon their private characters, had they not had sufficient evidences to recur to, of their great care and honesty in the management of the aforesaid trust.

Not long after and in the same year, these two friends, who still rose together both in their characters and preferments, received notice of more public trusts reposed in them by his Majesty, King William. Dr. Sharp received his at Norwich, from the Earl of Nottingham, by the following letter.

“ *Whitehall, Sept. 7, 1689.* ”

“ Sir,

“ Dr. Tillotson being removed to the Deanery of Paul’s, I must wish you joy of that of Canterbury, which the King has given you. This need not hasten your journey to London (though I should be glad to see you at any time,) because it cannot be perfected till Dr. Stillingfleet be actually Bishop of Worcester. I should be extremely rejoiced to hear you have recovered your health, which no man wishes you more than,

“ Your most affectionate, humble servant,

“ NOTTINGHAM.”

Dr. Sharp was not ignorant to whose interest and application in great measure he must be indebted for this unlooked for favour, as will appear by his modest letter of acknowledgment to his Lordship.

“ My Lord,

“ Be pleased to accept my most humble thanks for this new instance of your favour and kindness added to a thousand before; and which indeed is extremely surprising to me, because as I did not deserve it, so did I not in the least expect it.

“ It is to your father, my Lord, and yourself, that, under God, I owe all that I have in this world. And may I but have the continuance

of your favour so long as I study to express myself thankful for the benefits I have received, I shall never need nor desire any other patron.

“ I thankfully accept the place which the King, through your Lordship’s mediation, designs for me. And if my abilities to serve God and the church in that post were but equal to my desires, I am sure neither his Majesty nor your Lordship will repent of your preferring me.

“ I hope to wait on your Lordship the week after Michaelmas, for then my residence here will be out. I pray God increase his blessings upon your Lordship, and your family. I am, my Lord, with the utmost sincerity, as I have great reason,

“ Your Lordship’s,

“ Most faithful, humble,

“ and obliged servant,

“ JOHN SHARP.”

The next post brought him another letter from Lord Nottingham, to acquaint him that the King had appointed him one of the Commissioners for preparing such alterations and amendments of the Liturgy and Canons, and such *proposals for the reformation of Ecclesiastical courts* as might be laid before the Convocation at their next meeting, and to require his atten-

dance on that commission the 3d of October following.

Upon this occasion, Dr. Sharp returned to London immediately, and having waited on the King, at Hampton Court, and kissed his hand for his new Deanery (being introduced by Lord Chief Justice Holt,) he deferred taking possession of it till he had discharged his trust with respect to the Ecclesiastical Commission; which he attended constantly in the Jerusalem Chamber, so long as it sat.

They who would know what progress was made in this great design, and for what reasons *it proved at last ineffectual*, after great pains taken by the Commissioners, may consult Dr. Nichols, who gives a full and particular account of the proceedings. Only here, let it be remembered, that when the Convocation sat, viz. on Nov. 21st, Dr. Sharp was the person who first moved that Dr. Tillotson might be chosen prolocutor. But it was carried for Doctor Jane; which was thought one principal reason why the Commission itself failed of success.

Dr. Sharp having done his part, and borne his testimony for his friend, went down to Canterbury to be installed; and the necessary affairs of his new preferment, kept him from returning to Convocation till the 14th of December, when it was just upon the point of adjournment. So

that he was present only the first and last days of that session, and consequently had no part in the remarkable debates, and warm contentions which then employed that reverend and learned body.

The next year, 1690, his course of waiting at Court as Chaplain, was in April, when he preached before the Queen at Whitehall, a *ca-suistical* discourse upon Gal. v. 13.; containing rules for our conduct when we are at a loss to distinguish the bounds of sin and duty, lawful and unlawful, in any action. Which was printed by her Majesty's command. She was likewise much pleased with a sermon he preached before her, during his waiting this month at Kensington, upon the Prodigal Son, and ordered him to print that also; but he made his excuse, and the Queen allowed it. On May 21st, he was called upon to preach before the House of Commons on occasion of the *monthly fast*. This was the third time he had preached before that house.

The summer following, he resolved to visit his native country and his mother, yet living in Bradford, once more; for he had not been down for several years. Accordingly, he spent what time he had to spare amongst his friends there, and at York, where he also paid his respects to Archbishop Lamplugh; little imagining then how soon he should have a much

better claim to visit that country, and York and Bishopthorp in particular.

For soon after his return to London, his Majesty pitched upon him amongst others for supplying the Sees vacated by the *deprivations* of their Bishops. Accordingly, he had two or three of them, or the choice of them offered to him. Norwich, which was thought would be most acceptable to him on account of the friendships he had in that city, was pressed upon him by Dr. Tillotson. But he waved all these offers on account of the dispossessed Bishops being yet alive, with whom he was acquainted, and for whom he bore respect: and as to Norwich, in particular, he declared, that having lived hitherto in great friendship with its Bishop, he could not think of taking his place, but rather chose to continue in his present situation, than remove to more honourable posts under such circumstances as made them no ways tempting to him, or agreeable to his inclinations. But though it appears sufficiently that he disliked succeeding to these vacancies made by deprivation, yet he seemed not at any time to make it a *matter of conscience* with himself. Much less did he take upon him to censure or blame others who took the preferments that were thus voided. He readily went down to Canterbury to elect Dr. Tillotson to the throne of that church where

himself was Dean ; and was himself afterwards *consecrated* by Dr. Tillotson, in company with others who succeeded to these vacant Bishopricks. Neither of which had been consistent with his principle, had he thought it absolutely unlawful or irregular to take those Bishopricks in those circumstances. And as to all pretences of separation from the Established Church, on account of these deprivations and successions, he very warmly opposed them. In the mean time, whatever he might think of the matter himself, his Majesty guessed that he made these difficulties purely upon a principle which would not recommend him much to his Majesty's favour. In fine, the King was *not a little disgusted* at his peremptory refusal of those preferments.

And here, in all probability, Dr. Sharp had forfeited all further favours from court, at least in that reign, had not his friend, Dr. Tillotson, (who was concerned and grieved to think of Dr. Sharp's being wholly left out in the new promotion to Bishopricks,) seasonably interposed an expedient for advancing him not only more agreeably to his inclinations, but also quite beyond his expectations ; and that was by laying the scheme for his being Archbishop of York, when that See should become vacant. For, on Friday, April 24, 1691, (as appears by a me-

morandum under his own hand,) Dr. Tillotson came to his house in Russel-street, and told him that since he had so obstinately refused taking any of the vacant Bishopricks, he had thought of an expedient to bring him off with the King; that he should not fall under his displeasure. And that was, he should *promise* to take the Archbishoprick of York when it fell, as Dr. Jennison should take Lincoln. This Dr. Sharp readily promised he would, but withal said, that he would not take any advantage of the offer made him; but they should still be at liberty as to the disposal of that Archbishoprick, whensoever it should become vacant, it being sufficient satisfaction to himself that by means of such his declaration or promise, he might stand clear of the King's displeasure. Dr. Tillotson told him, that he had thought of this thing as he came from Whitehall to his house, and since he now understood his mind, he directed him to go and acquaint my Lord Nottingham with it, and if his lordship approved of it, he would go himself and propose it to the King, on the Monday following.

Dr. Tillotson then told him how all the other vacant Bishopricks were designed to be disposed of. And on the Monday, according to his engagement, he acquainted his Majesty with what had passed between Dr. Sharp and himself, and

fixed the thing. And on the next council day, which was on the Wednesday or Thursday following, the King declared in Council who should fill the vacant Sees, and who should succeed into York and Lincoln when they fell.

Thus amply did Dr. Tillotson requite the smaller services that Dr. Sharp had done him formerly; the chief of which was his obtaining for him a residentiaryship at St. Paul's, through his interest with the Lord Chancellor Nottingham.

Within a week after this, viz. on May 5th, Archbishop Lamplugh died; and on the 8th, the news of his death came to town, and that very night a warrant was signed for Dr. Sharp's succeeding him. And this was just a fortnight after Dr. Tillotson had laid and proposed to him this scheme. On the next day, the Lord Nottingham introduced him to kiss the King's hands.

This point being thus secured to him, he went down to Canterbury within a few days, to assist at the election of his friend, Dr. Tillotson, to that See; which no doubt he did with the greatest pleasure. Which having performed, and settled his own affairs at Canterbury, and taken his leave of that church, he returned to town, and in a most affectionate discourse to his own parishioners, he took his leave of them also, having served them faithfully as their mi-

nister for sixteen years, and received very great testimonies of their love and esteem for him.

It was a mighty pleasure to him that his parish fell into the hands of so great and worthy a person as Dr. Scott; the man whom he had singled out of the whole body of the London Clergy, in his private thoughts, to be his successor. How far he was instrumental in procuring this preferment for Dr. Scott is not known. But it is probable he was very much so. For in one of his late fevers, (a distemper he was liable to,) being apprehended to be in great danger, he expressed his earnest desires that his friend, Dr. Scott, might have the charge of his flock; and said, he hoped the Lord Chancellor would think of him for that cure.

On the last day of May, Archbishop Tillotson was consecrated, and he confirmed Dr. Sharp (whose election at York was now over) at Bow Church, on July 2d, and within three days after, viz. July 5th, he consecrated him, together with the Bishops who succeeded to Gloucester, Norwich, and Peterborough. The assisting Prelates were Winchester, Sarum, Worcester, Ely, and Bristol.

The sermon was preached by Mr. Joshua Clark, chaplain to the Lord Bishop of Norwich, from Heb. xiii. 17. "*Obey them that have the rule over you,*" &c. The discourse was printed.

The day following, Dr. Sharp did homage. On July 16th, he was by proxy enthroned at York ; and on October 5th, he was introduced into the House of Lords, and took both the tests.

Not long after, letters of congratulation were sent him from the University of Cambridge, and from his own college.

PART II.

CONTAINING HIS CHARACTER AS BISHOP, AND
HIS PROCEEDINGS IN HIS DIOCESE.

DOCTOR SHARP was in the forty-seventh year of his age when he was advanced to the see of York; in which he sat longer than any of his predecessors since the Reformation, viz. above two and twenty years.

As this dignity in the church brought him into a new situation of life, and upon a more public stage of action, and drew upon him a multiplicity of business and a variety of trouble commonly attendant on great preferments, engaging him in affairs not only very different from those in which he had been concerned before, but differing from each other, and of distinct consideration in themselves, it will be requisite from this period to make some alteration in the method that has been hitherto taken, and instead of proceeding in order of time, to lay things together according to their subjects, and suitable with their relations to each other; that is, to collect and put together such articles as relate immediately to his *diocese and province*;

and in the next place, such as concern his proceedings at *the court* and in parliament; and last of all, such as have respect only to his *private life and economy*. Which disposition and arrangement of materials into different classes, *ecclesiastical, civil, and domestic**, seems most convenient, and is preferable to a close prosecution and regular detail of particulars by the dates of years and months; which would necessarily have involved several inconsiderable passages of no other consequence than to preserve connexion and the thread of narration; and would likewise have occasioned several repetitions and recapitulations of points before mentioned;—whereas by methodizing and digesting the materials in the manner above described, not only these inconveniences are avoided, but a much better opportunity is given of forming a judgment concerning the steadiness of his principles, and the uniformity of his practice to them, in the respective capacities in which he is distinctly considered.

That which claims the preference in point of order, is his proper character of a bishop or pastor; under which head will be comprized all the steps that he took, and the rules by which

* This division of his materials is observed by the Author, and corresponds with Part the Second, Part the Third, and Part the Fourth of the Life. *Editor's Note.*

he conducted himself in the regulation and government of his extensive diocese.

At his entrance upon this great charge, he laid down to himself a rule or two of expedience (for they came not within the ordinary and stated duties of his office,) deserving to be mentioned. One was for the encouragement of the clergy, viz. to bestow the prebends in his gift upon such only as were *either beneficed in his diocese, or retained in his family.* The other more properly respected the laity, viz. *never to meddle or any ways concern himself in the election of members of parliament.* These general rules he followed, though not altogether without an exception, yet with such a *steadiness*, that no solicitations could prevail with him to break through them.

As to the former, it is to be remembered that the main branch of the patronage of the Archbishops of York are the stalls in York cathedral and the collegiate church of Southwell; which preferments though most of them inconsiderable in point of yearly value, are yet (at least many of them are,) well circumstanced in regard of their leased lands and Rectories appropriate, and all of them acceptable promotions to the Parochial clergy, on account of the credit that attends them without any burden or inconvenience. Now these he appropriated to his own

clergy, viz. his domestic chaplains, and such as were already beneficed within his diocese, nor did he in any instance desert this rule, except in the following case, which should be mentioned that the exception may be justified; viz. in the promotion of the Hon. Mr. Henry Finch, (afterwards Dean of York,) to the prebend of Wetwang, one of the best in the church, in 1695; and of the Hon. Mr. Edward Finch to the same stall upon his brother's resignation of it, in 1704. These had been *his pupils*, and were branches of that noble house to which he in great measure owed all that he had; and were the only persons of that family who were in a capacity of receiving the tokens of his gratitude in this way of donation. These two worthy gentlemen being excepted, it will be found that of forty-six stalls which he filled in the two fore-mentioned churches, *and in less than half that number of years*, all were filled agreeably to the foregoing resolution: and that he might observe due proportion in the distribution of these favours among his clergy, he reserved his stalls at Southwell *for the parochial clergy of Nottinghamshire*, where that church is situate;—*those of York for the Yorkshire clergy*. And this disposition he preserved to the last.

It will hardly be supposed but he had many

applications, and some very powerful ones, (as in fact he had,) on the behalf of such clergymen who were not within his rule (as not being of his diocese,) that they might succeed to these prebends as they became vacant. But notwithstanding this was the chief branch of his patronage, whereby he had it in his power to oblige those who interested themselves by their recommendations; and though he might without fear of blame have dispensed these favours to whom he pleased; yet he chose rather to resist all solicitations, and deny all requests, (a thing that went very hard with him, and which he never did without a good reason,) than forego the apparent advantages of this disposition. For hereby he not only provided that the pulpits of those distinguished churches might be more regularly supplied by their prebendaries, among whom the preaching courses in each place are distributed, and particularly that the daily service in his cathedral might be better attended by prebendaries *beneficed and residing in York city*, where he always took care there should be some, (and sometimes there were four besides the residentiaries appointed by statute,) but he also hereby gave proper and seasonable *encouragement to the ministers* of the great and populous towns in his diocese.

For whereas in *large towns the livings usually*

are small, or at least disproportionate to the greatness of the cures, he providently made these dignities in his metropolitical and collegiate churches serve to support the character and credit of the clergy in those places, wherever he found them deserving such encouragement. By which means the chief market towns throughout his diocese, as Hull, Beverley, Leeds, Wakefield, Sheffield, Doncaster, Nottingham, Newark, &c. had by his appointment dignified men residing and officiating in them.

This hath been before publicly taken notice of by Mr. Willis, who, in his Survey of the Cathedrals, speaks of him in these words:

“ He made it his unalterable practice to elect them (*viz.* prebendaries,) out of such as lived in his diocese, and had recommended themselves by doing their duties in their respective parochial cures. By which means no cathedral in England was better attended by clergy, and the service more regularly performed than at York; or the ministers of small livings in any diocese more encouraged to attend their charge; because this good Bishop would reward their diligence by such *compensations*, more especially those in York city, on whose conduct the world had a more especial eye; *hoping his example would influence his successors to take the like course.* Which certainly if other

Bishops had in like manner practised, the dignity of cathedrals would have been kept up as in the primitive times, and we should not have seen several of them so scandalously neglected," &c.

The other rule above-mentioned, which he laid down to himself, was, *never to be concerned in parliamentary Elections.*

It will readily be believed that he could not avoid being importunately applied to for his countenance and interest on these occasions. His interest was as extensive as his diocese, both among laity and clergy. And so it appeared to be, as often as he had occasion to use it for recommending such things as he judged it became him to recommend. But as to Elections of members for parliament, he never could be brought by any applications to intermeddle with them. He looked upon them as having no relation to his office and business; and judged very rightly, that if he concerned himself any ways with them, they would only entail *checks and difficulties* upon him in his episcopal capacity. Whereas, on the contrary, by waving his power and influence, and forbearing to disoblige any persons in these matters, which did not belong to him, he preserved his personal interest and *authority entire* in all those points that related to his pastoral care.

It may be more acceptable, to the reader to have his sentiments on this subject in his own words. A letter or two of his upon these occasions will sufficiently shew the rule by which he governed himself, and the manner in which he answered the applications made to him on this head. The following letter was wrote by him in answer to the Lady Russel, who had solicited his interest for the Lord Hartington, candidate for the county of York, 1702.

“ Madam,

“ I had the honour of your ladyship’s letter yesterday. In all things wherein I can fairly serve my Lord Marquis of Hartington, your ladyship may be sure I will; but in this instance your ladyship proposes, I cannot without being guilty of great prevarication with Sir John Hay, and Mr. Wentworth, who are both now candidates for knights of our shire at the next parliament, and are both *my old friends*, and to whom I am much obliged. By whom when I have been solicited to appear for them (as I have been by the former several times heretofore, and by the latter of late,) my answer to them has always been, that I thought it very improper for me to meddle in parliament elections, either for the city or county: that I foresaw great inconveniences would come upon

it with respect to myself, and yet I *should do no great good*; and therefore I made it a rule to myself not to be concerned in these matters, unless there was absolute necessity for it, as in the case of a *notorious bad man* that should offer himself, &c. Nor had I ever since I came to this place broken this rule, and for these reasons I begged they would excuse me. But this I would promise them, that though I could not serve them by making any votes for them, yet I would never disserve them by espousing any interest against them. These, madam, are my sentiments; and this declaration I have made to these two gentlemen, and indeed to all others as occasion has been offered. And now I leave your ladyship to judge how I am to behave myself in the matter your ladyship writes to me about. Your ladyship sees I cannot serve my Lord Hartington in the way you desire; but yet you see I am under no engagement to any, and therefore may promise you as I have done to these gentlemen, that though I can make no votes for him, yet I shall make none against him, but leave every one that I converse with to *their own liberty*. But in all other things it will be a great pleasure to me to pay all the respects to his lordship that I am capable of doing.

“ I am, madam, with hearty prayers for the

health and prosperity of your ladyship, and all your noble family,

“ Your ladyship’s most faithful

“ And humble servant,

“ JO. EBOR.”

“ *Bishophthorp, July 4, 1702.*”

To the same purpose, he wrote to Sir John Kay, and to others, that “ it was his first principle, and long ago taken up, not to meddle with those elections.”

And he adhered to his principle with the same steadiness at elections for the city of York; though his interest could not but be very great in that place, on account of his influence over the clergy, ecclesiastical officers, and *tradesmen*. Yet no body had that influence over him as to be able to engage him on either side; though the strongest and most tempting arguments, (such as the *expediency* of his interposing for the *good of the church* established,) were upon some occasions urged to him. When the Duke of Leeds, for instance, in the year 1695, had wrote him word (Sept. 10,) that “ it was very certain a new parliament would be called; and it was likely to be of the highest *concernment to the church*, that such members should be chosen as were well affected to it; and that it was the duty of all such to be as active as they could, at that time, in the promoting such elections,

and that his Grace's station afforded him a good opportunity of doing so ;" and recommended certain gentlemen for the city of York, and borough of Ripon, where the Archbishop's interest must of course be greatest, and concluded with these words :—" That as the *Dissenters* were neither sparing of their money nor their pains to secure their elections in all counties, if those of the church did not use a little more than ordinary industry at that juncture of time, they might repent it when it would be too late," &c.

He answered my Lord President (for so the Duke then was) with respect to his interest in York city, thus :

" I can by no means think it fit to appear as a party in the election of city members, that seeming to me, as things are now circumstantiated, both to be to no purpose, and likewise unavoidably to draw such consequences after it, as will render me less capable of doing that service in the city hereafter, which otherwise in my station I might."

And he concludes, in answer to my Lord President's reasons, " Why he should concern himself as a Churchman, &c." thus :

" I have no fear that your Grace will censure me as one unconcerned for the church's good, upon account of my thus declaring my unwillingness to *meddle* in the city elections, because

I am confident my reasons are such, that if you yourself were in my case, you would act as I mean to do. And yet I believe your Grace to be one of the best friends of the church; and upon that account all churchmen have reason to pray for the continuance of your health and prosperity, and none doth it more heartily than," &c.

" *Bishophthorp, Sept. 21, 1695.*"

To the same purpose, he wrote again in 1698, when the next election came on, to Alderman Thomson, of York.

" As to matters of election (says he) you know my principle, which is not to concern myself in them, or to appear for or against any person that the citizens of York think fit to propose for their representative, this being *a thing wholly foreign to my province,*" &c.

More testimonies of the same kind might be added from his letters upon this head, but these already given are sufficient for the purpose they are brought to answer. Only thus much it may not be improper to add further, viz. : that he made no scruple in the *Borough of Ripon* (where the Archbishop hath a *temporal* jurisdiction) to recommend such candidates as he himself approved of. Here he interposed his interest and authority, and here only; and accordingly he was able to give a more satisfactory answer to

the Lord President about the Ripon election, than he could about York.

“ I have done (says he) what I can to secure the election of Mr. Jennings and Mr. Aislabie, (where I think I may and ought to concern myself,) and I hope they will be chosen there in case of a new parliament, without any opposition.”

And here it was that Mr. Sharp, his eldest son, did afterwards, upon his recommendation, establish an interest that preserved him in parliament as long as the Archbishop lived: which remark is here subjoined to the foregoing quotation out of his letter, to obviate an objection that might possibly be made to the firmness to his principle about elections, as if he could suffer himself to recede from it where the interest of his own family was immediately concerned. And had he really done so in favour of his own son (who was withal a very deserving gentleman,) the peculiar circumstances of such a case would have made it allowable; but this really was not his motive to recommend to that borough, as appears from the forementioned letter to the Duke of Leeds in 1695, antecedently to any views for Mr. Sharp, wherein he declares that, in his judgement, *he ought to concern himself in that particular borough.* So that the favour he did his son in recommending him to that town, was none other than he had

before granted to other gentlemen, and would have granted to some or other upon every election, if he had not had a son, or any relation to recommend. And it is further to be remembered, that even here, where he did allow himself to move in the elections, he was utterly averse to any methods of *coercion* or *discouragement*, but contented himself with a bare request in favour of the person he approved.

Thus the whole of his conduct with regard to elections, is fairly represented; which, notwithstanding, will probably be variously judged of by those who do, and those who do not enter into those prudential reasons and motives, upon which he proceeded. For if these be duly considered, it will be found to be a conduct *worthy of an Archbishop*, highly acceptable to his diocese, and advantageous to himself; as not only securing to him the interest and esteem of all parties, but enabling him to *do more real service to the public in his station*, than he possibly could have done by being *warm and busy* in elections.

There may be truth, indeed, in what has been observed of him upon this head; viz. that he was not always wary enough to carry the matter so equally between the contesting candidates as never to discover his own *inclination* as to the issue of the dispute. He had, as all men

must have in the like cases, his reasons for preferring in his private thoughts, some before others; and wishing success to one rather than another. And as he was always of a frank open temper, and never studied artful reserves, it is likely he might not conceal a propensity of regard and favour (when he had it) for one more than another. But what is meant by his adherence to this rule is this, that he never interested himself by requests, or by his agents, or by his letters. He neither used his own authority, nor suffered his name to be used on these occasions. He left all his Clergy, and all his officers and dependents, as well as his friends and acquaintance, at their full liberty to act as they pleased. He neither gave them any previous encouragement, or used any dissuading motives to bias them, *nor shewed any after dislike* on account of their following their own inclinations in election matters.

It was no doubt a great satisfaction and pleasure to all his Clergy, that notwithstanding the influence he had over them, they were left free to vote always according to their own discretion, or their several private obligations, without fearing their Diocesan's displeasure, or any resentful or discouraging consequences from him of so doing. And it was, likewise, an instructive and noble pattern set to them all,

not to busy themselves in their own parishes with election matters, to their own hurt and detriment, in their pastoral capacities.

For the same reasons of prudence, which restrained him from making or soliciting votes on such occasions, are equally prudential in the parochial clergy, who cannot but have better purposes in view, to which they may employ the interest they have in their parishioners, than in promoting or supporting private or party interests. Not that the doing this is any otherwise exceptionable, than as it draws (which it seldom fails to do) resentments and inconveniencies upon themselves, which render them less serviceable than otherwise they would be in their respective cures. It is so natural for a man who obliges his minister with his vote, to expect in return for the favour, that his own irregularities (such especially as elections draw him into) should be connived at; and so natural for one who is in a different interest from that of his minister, to interpret the most just reprehensions, or the kindest cautions from him, as the effects of mere spleen and party resentment; that it seems a most difficult and almost an impracticable thing for a clergyman to engage openly in an election, *without lessening and impairing his credit and authority as a pastor.*

Experience proves this reasoning good.— Wherever a parish minister interests himself deeply in such an affair, though he may by his zeal and activity oblige some persons, and perhaps find *his account* in doing so, yet he may be sure to *gain no credit*. And in what other respects he is a loser, though less known, yet may very easily be imagined by any one who considers the necessity there is he should appear disinterested, and stand clear of the imputation of worldly views, if he would preserve a due influence over his people. When the best construction is put upon his proceeding, it will scarce reconcile him to those whom he hath obliged: and whatever his own reasons or motives may have been, he shall be commonly thought (and perhaps be the only man in the whole neighbourhood who shall be thought so) to have been meddling with matters that did little belong to him, and least become his character and function. The laymen, how readily soever they will cry up the interests of the clergy, while they are on the same side, do as readily reflect upon their conduct, when they are against them. And the liberty of the censure being equally taken on both sides of the question, it is the *sure lot of the clergy, especially such as signalize themselves, to be the greatest sufferers*; that is, to be the most

sharply inveighed against, and the most indifferently defended.

And experience equally shews how highly expedient their moderation and reservedness on these occasions, prove to themselves and their affairs. Certainly this may be collected from the success of the Archbishop's conduct with respect to elections, which gave occasion to this digression. For, by this means, he was honoured with the joint respects and compliments of all the candidates for city or *county*. All the gentlemen, however divided in their election interests, yet agreed in this, to pay their friendly visits together at Bishopthorp. Which preservation of harmony on such occasions, between contending parties and himself, who espoused the interests of neither of them, appeared most agreeable to all persons, whether interested in the contest or no.

Once he was *sole arbitrator* for compounding some family differences between two gentlemen, who were at the same time warmly engaged against each other upon an election; yet he moderated matters between them with so much address, as to prevent their election heats being any bar to their ready compliance with the terms of his arbitration, which had been in vain attempted, had he concerned himself or his interest on either side in the election. And more

than once he took upon him *privately to reprove*, and to write letters of monition to Members of Parliament within his diocese; which were equally well taken, and kindly acknowledged by those gentlemen: whereas it is easy to guess what had been the effect of this liberty he took, if he had ever engaged himself in soliciting votes, contrary to those gentlemen's interests. These advantages, arising from his prudence and forbearance in these matters, might easily be proved by testimonies, were it not convenient to suppress particulars for their sakes who were immediately concerned.

One short observation more shall conclude this head. It is, that this conduct of his with respect to elections, served him for a justification of himself when misrepresented as an abettor of a faction. Lord Godolphin taxed * him one day upon report, with being "one of those who made a noise and a cry about the Church being in danger." He replied, that "he ought not to be charged with that, for he had declared often, that he did *not much apprehend the Church was in danger*; but that it was a struggle between Whig and Tory, who should be upper-

* Diary, October 26, 1705.—This was soon after the meeting of the new Parliament, when Lord Godolphin, as Bishop Burnet says, began to declare more openly than he had done formerly, in favour of the Whigs. Vol. II. p. 426. *Author's Note.*

most, and he believed neither of them meant any harm to the Church." And then he asked my Lord Treasurer, *whether his lordship had heard that he had made any bustle about Parliament-men?* A very pertinent question at that junction, considering the vehement struggles of the parties throughout the kingdom at an election just before*.

The Earl cleared him of that imputation, which was a better proof of his not having any such apprehensions of the Church's danger, as were suggested, and of his not being agitated by party zeal, as was rumoured of him, than any verbal remonstrances he could have made in his own vindication.

More will be said hereafter, both of his principles and conduct in party matters.—To proceed at present in the account of *his Episcopal acts*.

He took early and extraordinary pains to

* Bishop Burnet gives the following account of it.—“The election of members of the House of Commons was managed with zeal and industry on both sides. The Clergy took great pains to infuse into all people tragical apprehensions of the danger the Church was in. The Universities were inflamed with this; and they took all means to spread it over the nation with much vehemence. The danger the Church of England was in, grew to be as the word given in an army. Men were known as they answered it. The Whigs exerted themselves with great activity and zeal.”—Vol. II. p. 425. *Author's Note.*

qualify himself for so weighty a charge as he had undertaken, by inquiring into the rights of his See; the state and condition of his cathedral and collegiate churches; the value, endowments, patronage, &c. of the several benefices under his inspection; and, *above all*, the characters, qualifications, and circumstances of the several incumbents within his diocese. His diligence herein, with the effects of it, shall be set forth in two distinct articles.—One, respecting the *Church and its revenues*; the other, respecting the *Clergy and their behaviour*.

As to the former, he had gained so exact a knowledge of the state of his See and of the churches subject to it, as to have drawn up and finished within the compass of four years after his promotion, the following complete and elaborate treatises, whose titles will sufficiently express and distinguish their subjects.

With respect to the Archbishoprick.

I. The ancient franchises, liberties, and immunities of the Archbishops of York, in their estates and lands.

II. The ancient estates belonging to the See.

III. The present estates and possessions of the Archbishop of York; with an account of the pensions, rent charges, and other annual payments and disbursements with which the Archbishoprick is charged.

IV. An account of the ecclesiastical promotions and benefices that are in the patronage or gift of the Archbishop of York.

V. The lives and acts of the Archbishops, from Paulinus, An. 625. This is brought down to his predecessor, Archbishop Lamplugh. And this treatise was made use of, and quoted by Mr. Le Neve, in his *Lives and Characters of the Protestant Archbishops*, published 1720, under the stile of MS. penes John Sharp, Armiger.

With respect to his Metropolitan Church.

I. The history of *York Minster*, from An. 627.

II. The ecclesiastical estates, revenues, liberties, and jurisdiction of the cathedral church of York; with an account of the dignities and offices thereto belonging, ancient and present; and of the foundations, endowments, and rentals of the several prebends now enjoyed therein.

With respect to his *Collegiate Church, at Southwell*, in Nottinghamshire.

A short history of it, with an account of its state and government, both before its dissolution, and since its refoundation; and of the foundations, earlier and later, of the sixteen prebends there, with their estates, endowments, and annual rentals.

But the largest and most useful work of all, was that which related to the possessions and revenues of his Clergy, with an account of all

the parochial churches and chapels, whether under ordinary or peculiar jurisdiction within his diocese; the value of the benefices, what rights were lost, and what preserved; in what hands the patronages were, and the impropriations and appropriations, and whatever else could be learnt of them useful to be known. *This notitia of his diocese*, as he called it, he distributed into four volumes folio, according to the division of the four Archdeaconries.—These were left at his death by his executors to the use of his successors*.

* He was greatly assisted in all these collections by some MSS. lent him by Mr. Torr at that time, and which, by a composition with Mr. Torr's widow some years after, came entirely into his own possession. Concerning these MSS. there is a passage in the preface to the *History and Antiquities of York*, in these words:

“ This almost invaluable treasure was *given* to the Dean and Chapter's Library by the executors to the last will of the late Archbishop Sharp. No doubt the worthy sons of that very eminent Prelate imagined they had an unquestionable right to make this present. I shall not enter further into this affair, which by the good Archbishop's death, and other persons concerned, is now rendered *inscrutable*.

“ Yet this I may venture to say, that there never was a *quantum meruit* paid to the Author's relict or his heir for them.” See Mr. Drake's preface.

This ingenious writer seems not to have been aware that his worthy father, Mr. Francis Drake, Vicar of Pontefract, in whose neighbourhood, at Sugdal, Mr. Torr died, in July 1699, came soon after that gentleman's decease to the Archbishop,

Then, as to the Archbishop's other enquiry, viz. into the *qualifications and behaviour of his clergy*, as it was wholly designed for his own information and use, so it was very cautiously and privately prosecuted.

And whatever notices he received about them, with which he feared to trust his memory, and

with a generous offer from Mrs. Torr, the widow, of her husband's MSS. *as a present*. But the Archbishop, after proper acknowledgments made of her kind intentions and obliging offer, told Mr. Drake then, and afterwards repeated it by letter, that it would not be right in him to accept of them *gratis*. But if she would likewise accept of a present from him (which he named,) and could not dispose of them to more advantage (for he would not be an hindrance to her making the best of them); he would, on this condition, accept them from her. A copy of the Archbishop's letter to Mr. Drake, which is wholly on this subject, will be found entire in the Appendix I. No. 4.

Mrs. Torr having kept the MSS. near twelve months after this letter was wrote, and finding she could not dispose of them better, sent them to the Archbishop, *who gave her more than he had promised her for them*, though they were of little use to himself then, having some years before extracted from them all that he wanted.

This may be sufficient to clear up, in good measure, this "*inscrutable affair*;" and perhaps to the satisfaction of the Author of the Antiquities, &c. who hath expressed so much respect, both to the Archbishop and his executors, in his short remonstrance of an insufficient compensation to Mr. Torr's family, that it cannot be doubted he will be pleased to see them stand clear of all blame in this matter.

of which he thought fit to make memorandums, he committed to *short-hand*, either in his diary, or in loose papers, which latter, when he had made that use of them that he designed, he usually *destroyed*.

Perhaps no man in his station was ever more inquisitive into the characters and conduct of the Clergy than he was, or made a *kinder* or *better* use of the notices he obtained. He never censured or complained of any of them *till he had heard them* ; and he always was so open and free as to tell them whatever he had heard amiss of them, and to *give them an opportunity of clearing themselves*. If the things reported or signified to him, were apparently to the disadvantage and hurt of their characters, and could not conveniently be connived at till he should happen to meet with them, he either wrote himself to them, or sent for them to attend him, according as the matters he had to acquaint them with might best be delivered. If he found any of them upon examination blameworthy, he was very frank and solemn in his admonitions, (and how happy he was in discharging this part of his office, we shall see hereafter;) if they acquitted themselves, they found from him all favour and encouragement.

By this means *he knew his Clergy*, and understood the worth of the deserving among

them, which often proved an advantageous circumstance to them. For he seldom failed to remember them when it came in his way to do them service; and some of them who had no claims or pretences in the world to his favour but their good preaching, unblameable lives, and diligence in their callings, were advanced from one benefice to another, partly by his own donations, and partly by his interests with others, till they met with some rewards suitable to their merits; and to his private bounties and pecuniary succours, (where such were agreeable, till he could assist them in some other way,) they were frequent and considerable debtors, as will be more particularly shewn in another part of this work. Here let it only be further observed, that he guided himself in dispensing his favours to his Clergy, *not by their political principles, but by their moral characters and parochial labours*. When once a man had qualified himself according to the laws, and behaved himself modestly, and discreetly, and industriously in his station, he was entitled to his favour and service, as opportunity offered, although he were reputed to be of different sentiments from himself in point of politics.

There are several instances of his preferring such persons himself: and possibly no instance to be given, in so many years as he presided in

this diocese, where he either discouraged or rewarded any clergyman, purely for his being of this or that party, but from some nobler consideration. *He considered them in the relation they bore to the Church and himself*, and not according to their interests in private families and parliamentary elections. If, indeed, they went inconsiderately so far in their politics as to do any thing disreputable to their function, then they came within his consideration as party-men; and which side soever they espoused, were pretty sure to know his sentiments of their way of proceeding. For the example which he set himself, gave him sufficient authority to reprove upon such occasions.

He was curious to know, as far as he could, their talent in the pulpit; and omitted no opportunity that offered itself of hearing them preach. His cathedral, to which he resorted three times a-week, (viz. on the Litany days,) for several years after he came to the See, though he lived two miles out of the city, served him well for this purpose. For in that church, besides the preaching courses distributed among the Prebendaries and Archdeacons, on all the Sundays and holidays in the year, there are sermons likewise on every Wednesday and Friday in Advent and Lent. So that during those seasons, at least, he had an *opportunity of hearing*

three sermons a-week from different hands. But as all these turns in the Minster were chiefly supplied by the members of it, the Prebendaries or Vicars-Choral, that he might also exercise and know the talents of the *City Clergy*, and those of the *neighbouring parishes*, he set up an Evening Lecture, to be preached on every Friday, at All Saints' Church, in the Pavement.

He entered himself into the combination, and *took his turn among them.* This lecture was opened in 1693, the second year of his residence in his diocese, and was kept up with a large resort, chiefly of the Clergy in and about York, till the year 1707. During which whole time he attended almost constantly while he resided in the country, and brought thither preachers at length from all parts of his diocese. By which he had not only a better knowledge of their several abilities, but an *opportunity of improving them by his advice*, which he would freely give them when he judged it would prove useful. If there were any thing in their compositions or stile not well suiting the pulpit, or remarkably unacceptable in their tone or manner of delivery, he would kindly caution them to avoid it in their preaching, and give them proper directions how to do so. That this was one great use he made of his attendance on this lecture, appears from his constantly mentioning

in his diary the preacher's name, and generally with some short remark upon the discourse, or upon the man that made it; and sometimes minuting the notice he had taken to the preacher himself, of what had been said, or the manner of saying it. Twice, indeed, he was so displeased, or rather provoked, as he observes, with the sermon, that he durst not venture at that time to talk with the preacher, lest he should not sufficiently command himself; and therefore chose to express his displeasure and resentment by withdrawing, in a way that was not usual with him. The persons, it seems, called up to preach, being as much strangers to him as he was to them, *thought to approve themselves to him by the bitterness of their invectives against the Dissenters.* A conduct that was odious in his sight. "Mr. ——— preached (says he) so furious a sermon against the Dissenters, as I never heard the like. I went out of the church before I came into the vestry, because I knew not how to behave myself towards him." In all his diary, (where he minutely sets down *all the little heats he was occasionally put into*) there does not appear more than one other instance where the provocation had so strong and visible an effect upon him: and that was when the like case happened again at this lecture, and an indiscreet hot man,

instead of preaching, “*railed at the Dissenters,*” as he words it. The prostitution of the pulpit to such unworthy ends, was a thing he could not endure; nor the men that were guilty of it.

He set an *excellent example* to his Clergy himself, both of the true *manner of preaching*, and of *diligence* and frequency in it. In the first years that he spent in his diocese, and was yet in his full strength and vigour, he rarely omitted preaching every Sunday. Insomuch, that by a computation made some years after he was Archbishop, how often he had preached since his consecration, he found that one year with another, he had preached once a fortnight. His way at York was to hear the sermon at the Minster on the Sunday morning, (and sometimes in the absence of the Prebendary appointed, to take his place,) and to *preach one in the afternoon at some or other of the parish churches in the city, or in the neighbourhood*. And wherever he was on Sundays, *within his diocese*, he preached once, if not also twice. Towards the latter part of his life, indeed, he could not attend so constantly at sermons, nor preach them so frequently as is before mentioned. But he never remitted either of them so far as not to be an example to his Clergy in preaching, and to the *Laity for attendance upon sermons*.

He always had a great opinion of the effects

of good sermons, viz. wherein the *fundamental doctrines* of religion were *laid down distinctly*, and *clearly disentangled* of the controversies about them, and wherein the *practical duties* of Christianity were pressed *warmly* and *affectionately*. When such discourses came from a man of a *good life*, and one who in all other respects shewed a real concern to make people better, he judged them of great consequence in reforming the world, and promoting true piety and virtue; and therefore it was a principal branch of his pastoral care, to engage his Clergy in the study of this point, to make themselves *useful* preachers; and he took all occasions of exhorting them to it, and instructing them in it.

There were two seasons in particular, when he used to enlarge upon this topic, viz. at his *Ordinations* and at his *Visitations*.

The first he held regularly at all the stated times, when he was in his diocese. And as it was a business of the greatest weight and consequence that appertained to his office, he used the properest means to *qualify himself* for the discharge of it. He usually repaired privately to his chapel to beg God's presence with him, and blessing upon him, or, to use his own expression, *to implore the guidance of his Spirit in that work*. He measured candidates for orders,

more by their modesty and good sense, and the testimonials of their virtue, *than by their learning*. To have a right notion of the main doctrines of religion, to understand thoroughly the terms of the new covenant, both on God's part and on man's; and to know the reasons, and *apprehend the force, of those distinctions upon which the Church of England explained and stated those terms differently from the Church of Rome and other communions separating from her*, were with him the chief qualifications for the ministry in regard to learning.

He had often found and lamented a deficiency as to these parts of knowledge, in persons *otherwise of good learning and abilities*; whom he was obliged sometimes to remit to their studies, that they might make themselves better masters of this most necessary knowledge for a clergyman. He *directed* them in such cases, how and where to apply themselves for the attaining it. And if they were unable to provide themselves with the proper helps, he would *give them some of the best books* for their instruction, and tell them, if they came to him again with this proof of their diligence and improvement, that they appeared well versed in those books, he would then no longer scruple to put them into the ministry. Others there were, on whom, when he could not ordain them on account of their

insufficiency, he took so great compassion, on account of some peculiar circumstances of their misfortune, though they were otherwise unknown to him, and independent of him, that he *entertained them in his own family* till they were so instructed, that he could satisfy himself they might be put into holy orders.

To return: he laid hold on these occasions, when young men were first engaging themselves in the work of the ministry under his fiat or commission, to lay before them with great solemnity, and with an authority that became him, and carried more than ordinary weight with it at such times, “of what mighty concernment it was, that they who took upon them this profession, should do their duty. And what horrible consequences must ensue, if they who had the preaching of the Gospel intrusted with them, either did not preach it at all, or preach it negligently, or preach it unfaithfully, or did any way, either by their life or doctrine, hinder the belief and entertainment of it among those they were to serve.”

He told them, “The charge they were now taking upon themselves was such, as even the best qualified men, both for learning and piety, in the primitive times, *have trembled at, when they considered of it.* That they were now to be made stewards of the mysteries of Christ,

the ministers of reconciliation between God and man; to preach that Gospel by which men shall be saved or damned eternally; and to administer those *sacraments which are the keys of the kingdom of heaven*. That the best of men, the most learned, the most virtuous, the most pious, were not sufficient for these things; yet so gracious was God, that he did accept the endeavours of all honest men, who do in sincerity the best they can for his service; but then it did infinitely concern them to do the best they could; to apply themselves seriously to the work to which they have given themselves up, and to make *that their business which they had made their calling*; assuring them, that it was a calling of so much employment, that if they meant to discharge it with a good conscience, they would not *have much room* for the prosecution of any other. He begged of them to read the Scriptures constantly, to study them closely, and to take to their assistance such other good books as might tend towards making them masters of their profession, and enable them to give an answer to every one that asked them a reason of the faith which they held; and to give evidence to all they conversed with, that in point of learning and knowledge, they deserved the character they bore."

As to their preaching, he gave them some lessons very seasonable and proper for new beginners, viz. “not to pump for witty expressions, not to study the ornaments of language, not to shew their reading or learning in the pulpit any otherwise than by *good sense and strong and plain arguments*. To remember always they were doing God’s work, and not man’s; and therefore to endeavour always to approve themselves to their Master, and not to seek honour of men. To make it their business to do good to their hearers, by *preaching to their consciences*; telling all people of their duty, representing to them the Christian religion faithfully, and declaring to them *impartially the conditions of acceptance* with God, and to do this without fear or favour. But if they took other ways, or had other views in their sermons; if they taught any other doctrines than what our Saviour had commanded, or misrepresented those doctrines which he had taught; or if they did the work of the Lord negligently, and were not solicitous in using their endeavours, that the people committed to their charge should profit under their ministry, what account would they give of their stewardship.”

What he added about their being careful *to preach every day by their good life and conversation*, (which he said was *a constant sermon*,) shall be

omitted here, being to the same purport with the extracts following out of his charges at his ordinary visitations, which were the other and more public occasions that he took of putting all his clergy in remembrance of what they owed to God, and the Church, and the honour of their order.

These charges were weighty and pathetic, suitable to his gravity and the solemnity of those meetings. He always insisted on the same topics, though he diversified a little the manner of his address to his clergy. The main strokes and substance of what he delivered to them at those times cannot be better represented than in his own words and phrases.

As to their lives and conversation, which was his first topic, "He conjured them, in God's name, and as they would answer it in judgment, not only to keep free from scandal, but to shew themselves, upon all occasions, virtuous and *grave*. He told them, that when once they arrived at such a vigorous sense of religion, as would influence their whole conversation, when they did in good earnest so love God, as to make it the *business of their lives to approve themselves to him*, that then they had done a good part of their business, as to rendering their ministry beneficial and successful."

He laid before them, "How very vain it was

to think that any one of their people should mind what they preached to them out of their pulpits; unless they adorned their doctrine by a holy, innocent, and unblameable demeanour. That although they used the best language in their discourses, and the best arguments, and added all the charms of a good utterance, that the best orator could make use of, yet, if their lives and sermons did not comport, their auditors would have an argument against their discourses, so *prevalent*, as to defeat all their arguments against vice and immorality, viz. if *our minister really believed what he talks to us*, he would certainly practise otherwise himself.—Therefore, he besought them, if they meant to do any good in their parishes, to have a care of themselves in the first place; and to let all who heard them, and all who conversed with them, be convinced that they were in good earnest when they talked to them of faith and holiness. To shew the beauty and charms of a Christian spirit in their own modest, quiet, peaceable, and inoffensive deportment; in their unaffected piety, and a goodness to be discerned in all their conversation; to let their people see that there are men who do more than talk of another world, for they do live as if there were.”

Another point that he urged to them was diligence in their calling, and application of them-

selves to those things that *immediately* concerned their profession. He exhorted them to be “ assiduous in following their studies, and reading good books, and daily improving themselves in all good learning, especially those parts of learning that related to their vocation. He laid before them, how highly “ necessary it was for every clergyman to be well versed in those points wherein religion is concerned ; that unless they were masters of their profession, they were lost, and the cause of God would suffer by their ignorance and weakness. That the times *would not now bear an ignorant clergyman, whatever they would have done heretofore.* That learning was *become so common*, that they would quickly be found out if they were defective in any part of it ; and therefore, for their own reputation and honour, as well as the Church’s, he besought them to study good authors, and to use the best conversation they could meet with, and to improve themselves in all kinds of knowledge.”

Again as to their *preaching*, he laid down very plain lessons. “ That there was a trifling way of preaching, though yet perhaps it might be *elaborate* enough ; of which sort were all those sermons wherein the business was to make ostentation of learning, or reading, or wit, or politeness of language ; but which, in the

meantime, were not *contrived for the making people good*. And this way of preaching to be sure they were to avoid. He told them as to the choice of their subjects, to take the most weighty points, such as struck at the very root of evil principles and vicious dispositions; such as if a man's conscience be once touched with, it is in a manner impossible for him (if he were *given to think* and consider,) not to be both a moral man and a good Christian. He was sure that there was so much truth and evidence, so much power and efficacy in our religion, that if it were but faithfully represented, and the arguments of it duly set home upon men's consciences, it would be very difficult for any one who was *not abandoned* by God, not to yield himself a convert to it. He begged of them, therefore, to press upon their flocks the substantial doctrines, and the indispensable duties of Christianity, and the mighty arguments they had both for believing the one, and practising the other: that they would do this very plainly, warmly, and affectionately. That they would do it in such a way that people of the meanest capacities might understand what they said, and that every man who was not wanting to himself might go away from them *either better or wiser*. He told them, if they took these methods, whatever opinion some giddy-headed

people might have of their preaching, yet he would vouch for them, that they were good preachers, and workmen that needed not to be ashamed.”

As to *personal residence* upon their cures, which was a topic he never omitted, “ He declared to them he did not see how they could satisfy their consciences without it, unless there was some very urgent or reasonable cause to excuse them. He knew not how they could so solemnly take the cure of souls upon themselves (as they did at their institution), and afterwards put all this charge to be executed by a deputy. If they thus did their duty by proxy, it were well if they had *not their reward in the other world in the same way*. Wherefore he besought them, never to think of leaving their benefices, but to live among their people, and set them good examples.”

As to their being punctual in *catechising*, *administering the sacraments*, and *visiting the sick*, and *observing rules and orders according to the rubrics and canons*, he laid his solemn injunction upon them; but withal “ desired they would take in good part his freedom, and plainness wherewith he delivered himself, declaring it was not a *humour of talking magisterially* that put him upon it, but a sense of his own duty, and a hearty good will to them; that

he had no design upon earth, but that both they and himself might be good, and adorn the profession to which they were called; and discharge the trusts committed to them, to the honour of their Master, the good of his Church, and the peace and comfort of their own minds.”

With these and the like *paternal monitions*, savouring of primitive zeal and simplicity, and delivered with an air of seriousness and gravity which was solemn and affecting, and in some respects peculiar to himself, he addressed his Clergy as often as he held his ordinary *Visitations*.

And it was at these seasons that he took his opportunities of *privately* discoursing with such of them against whom he had heard any complaints, or whom he had any reason to suspect in the least deficient in discharging the duties of their cures.

In what manner he executed this usually ungrateful, yet necessary branch of his office, they best knew who received the benefit of his *monitions in private*. In how frank and ingenuous, in how tender and inoffensive a manner he treated them on these occasions, may in some measure be learnt from a specimen or two of his way of admonishing by letter, when he could not do it face to face.

The following letters were sent upon his re-

ceiving some complaints against the persons to whom they were directed ; which he vehemently suspected were just and well grounded, but could not directly charge the parties with them.

“ Sir,

“ It is very uneasy to me to write to you upon such a subject as I now must. And I am very sorry if you have given me the occasion. It is complained to me, that you have for some considerable time used your parishioners very ill in your performance of divine offices among them. As for sermons, you rarely give them any; and as for the divine service of the Church, you begin it so uncertainly as to the hour, and you perform it so indecently as to the manner, as if you really had a mind to shew your hearers that you are so far out of charity with them, that you do not desire that they should receive any benefit, even by their saying of their prayers.

“ I represent the complaints that have been made of you in softer terms than I received them. If there be no occasion for them, I shall be heartily glad of it, and shall readily ask your pardon for giving ear to them. But if they be true, and you do really use your parish thus, what must be thought or said of you? Surely you have lost not only all common discretion, but all sense of that duty which you owe to

our Lord Jesus Christ, and the souls of that flock that he has committed to you; that in revenge of some injury or ill usage you think you have met with from them, you endeavour to deprive them (as far as in law you dare) of all the good that should come to them by your ministry; and not only so, but to force them, if you can, to leave the Church.

“ Good Sir, I beg of you that this may be amended, and that I may hear no more of it. If I do, I shall be forced to have articles exhibited against you in Court, and to have the matter brought upon the public stage, which I am very unwilling should be done. I pray God bless you, and give both you and me a serious sense of the duty which is incumbent upon us in our stations.

“ I am, Sir, with great sincerity,

“ Your affectionate friend and brother,

“ JO. EBOR.”

The next is a more tender letter, and shews how much he laid to heart the *reputed faults of his brethren*, where no formal charge was brought by open accuser.

“ Sir,

“ I should be failing, both in the discharge of my duty, and in the friendship which I owe to you and your family, if I should not

take notice to you of what hath lately come to my ears, of the new differences, or the old ones revived, betwixt you and your wife; the blame of which is laid at your door. I would gladly believe, that all that is said of you about this matter is not true, particularly the very severe, cruel, and unmanly usage with which, in your passion, you do sometimes treat her, and the just occasions you have given both to her and others, to believe that you are not true to your conjugal vow. These things are so bad, that I should hardly think a clergyman can be guilty of them; none can who is not abandoned of shame, as well as virtue. I am sure none can who hath any sense of his duty to God, or any regard to the honour of the Church, or any concern for the souls of his people, to whom, by such scandalous examples, he doth frustrate all the good effects that his labours ought to have among them, and render his *ministry perfectly ineffectual*.

“ I cannot, neither do I, charge you with these things, because I have them only upon report. And I should be very sorry, for your sake, that matters should come to that pass, as to give occasion to any to attempt the proof of these things upon you. But thus far I think myself bound to take notice of these reports, as earnestly to admonish you so to behave your-

self from henceforward, that I may hear no more of them.

“ And therefore, as I am your old school-fellow and acquaintance, as I am your friend, and a friend of your family, I do beg of you, I do entreat you, as you have any love for your own *ease and peace*, as you have any concern for your *reputation and your interest*, both which must needs suffer extremely by these disorders in your family; and, which is more than all these, as you have any regard to give a *comfortable account* hereafter to God of your stewardship, either as a Christian or a clergyman; that you would amend these matters, that you would make up the breaches in your family, and treat your wife with all that respect and kindness, with all that love and tenderness, which both the law of Christ and your own solemn promise when you married her, oblige you to do; and that you will seriously consult the common interests both of yourself, and her, and your family, by making every one's life about you as easy and as comfortable as may be; by minding your own business, and leaving others to mind theirs; by shewing respect to all, according as in their several places they do their duty; but encouraging none to sow discontents, and make parties among you; and, above all things, *being so careful of your own*

conversation, that malice itself should not be able to fix upon you the imputation of any unlawful love.

“ Out of the tender respects, Sir, I have to you, as a friend, I give you this *advice*, and should be very much troubled ever to apply myself to you under *another character*. I hope I may have so much interest with you, as to prevail upon you to think seriously of these matters. And if you do, I am sure you will be so far convinced of the reasonableness of my advice, that you will follow it. I do assure you, that I shall be most heartily glad to hear that you do so.

“ But if the discontents between you do still continue, and a happy lasting union cannot be made, I do at least expect that you will deal as freely with me as I have been dealing with you, viz. that you will tell me the reason thereof, and what you have to charge her with, that should put an hindrance to this peace, and love, and entire confidence that ought to be between man and wife. And then my request must be to you both, *if you think it fit*, that I may see you together, and hear what each party hath to say. I assure you I shall do it without partiality to either. And this is all I can do by way of friendship.

“ I have no more to add, but that I heartily

pray God, to give you both a serious sense of virtue, and honour, and Christianity. And then I am sure you will either have no differences, or they will be such, as nobody but yourselves will know of.

“ Your’s, &c.

“ JO. EBOR.”

He could not have treated his own son in the like circumstances with greater affection or more sensible concern. But this was his way with all, while there were any hopes either of their being wrongfully charged, or their being reclaimed and brought to amend upon persuasion. But if he was fully persuaded of the truth of the allegations against any clergyman, or found that his first admonitions had not their due effect, then he raised his style, and *rebuked with more authority*, intermixing some threatenings.

The two following letters are a specimen of his manner in doing this.

“ Sir,

“ I am very sorry that I must write to you upon such an occasion as I now do. When I was in my visitation at, the other day, I there received great complaints against you for your gross and scandalous neglect of

your cure. I do assure you it is a sensible trouble to me to hear these things of you. I beseech you, for Christ's sake, for your own sake, for your function's sake, let these things be amended. I should be unwilling to use any severity towards you, but if I do not hear that your cure is better served henceforward, and that you live a more sober and regular life, I must and will take care that you shall stay no longer there. I desire you take this my admonition in good part, which nothing else but the sense of my duty, and a concern for your good, and the good of your parish, puts me upon. And be pleased to let me hear of your receipt of this letter, and that you are fully resolved to follow my advice, which will be very acceptable to,

“ Your's, &c.

“ JO. EBOR.”

ANOTHER.

“ Sir,

“ I hoped I should hear no more complaints of you, after the admonition I gave you by letter;—but I find it otherwise. I might, I think, without more ado, remove you from that cure, you having no legal title to it, but serving it only by admission. And if I did so, I think I had ground enough for it. But that you may have no colour to complain of hard

usage, I am willing you should have an opportunity of vindicating yourself, if you can. And therefore, I have here sent you a copy of the *petition*. The particulars of which, I mean as to the charge against you, are offered to be made out fully, if there be occasion. What measures are best for you to take in this case, you will do well to consider. If you think fit quietly to recede, there is an end of the business. If you will stand upon your justification, you shall be heard. But then *articles* must be drawn up against you in form, and put into the Court at York; and a time likewise must be appointed for you and your accusers to come thither, they to make out their proofs, and you to disprove them. And if, upon the hearing, these complaints against you appear without grounds, *they will be obliged by the Court to bear your charges*; if they make good the articles, you must expect both to have your admission withdrawn, and *to pay the charges of their prosecution*. I pray let me know, as soon as you can, what you mean to do.

“ Your’s, &c.

“ JO. EBOR.”

When gentler methods did not prevail, he never failed to put in execution those powers which the laws gave him, insomuch that he hath

been charged, in anonymous letters sent to himself, with rigour in his proceedings against his Clergy ; though, in reality, he never was severe where he could help it, or without a justifiable cause, and that, too, after all other milder methods had been taken in vain.

A vicious and scandalous clergyman did, above all other things, provoke his resentments ; he never found it so difficult to keep his temper as when any such person came before him. It is true, taking all his Clergy together, and considering their number, he had as many valuable and worthy men as could be met with in the same compass, who were an honour to their profession and his diocese ; and he was troubled with as few unworthy ones, as could in reason be expected in a country where such scanty provisions were made for the churches, as were in his time ; but these few were a great trouble to him, and when he was forced to use severities with any of them, that usage always procured his favour and bounty to their poor innocent families, whom he lamented should any ways suffer for the faults of those who ought to have protected and provided for them.

Had he used his *authority* only over the clergy, or confined his *reprehensions* and *censures* to them alone who were neither of abilities to cope with him, nor in a situation so independent

of him, as to remonstrate openly against any overstrainings of his power, he had shewed rather a spirit of meanness or pride, than a spirit of *discipline* or charity; but he used equal freedom in admonishing and censuring *the laity* of what quality soever they were, when he saw occasion for it. Whenever they gave any *public scandal* by their immoralities, he would make no scruple to *reprimand* them and tell them their faults, either by discourse (when that was feasible) or by letters. And if he apprehended any such persons were likely *to offer themselves for receiving the Sacrament*, when he was to officiate himself either in his cathedral or in any churches of his diocese where he occasionally preached or confirmed, he would take that opportunity of advising them either to clear their characters to him or not be present at those ordinances. And this freedom he would take, when there was occasion given, not only with the chief *magistrate* of his metropolis, but with gentlemen of the best quality, interest, and fortunes within his diocese.

The following letter, written and delivered on one of these occasions, will suffice for an instance of his manner of exercising this discipline.

“ My Lord,

“ It grieves me to write to you upon such an

occasion as I am now going to mention; because I am sure it will grieve you. And yet I know of no other way of communicating my thoughts to you, with that decency which is due to your character, or that respect I have always, and would always pay to your person, than this of writing, because it is a way that will *make no noise*. It is reported. and that your Lordship designs to receive the Sacrament at. next Sunday. Good, my Lord, let me beg of you not to offer it, either then or at any other time, while matters stand with you as they do. I dare say there is none of us but would be most heartily troubled to refuse you the Sacrament, but yet I doubt *we must do it if you offer yourself*. I am sorry I must say this; but I am more sorry for the cause. Be pleased my Lord to accept this testimony of respect, (for I assure you it is meant so) from

“Your humble servant, &c.

“JO. EBOR.”

This letter, as it stands unsupported by any lights to explain it, may seem something harsh, but if the case were better known in all its circumstances it would not appear so. The Archbishop *knew what he was doing*; and it answered his intention; neither did the party admonished break friendship with him on that account.

And indeed he was *happy in making no enemies*, at least none that thought proper to appear so, by his reproofs. He was wont to press his arguments, drawn both from reasons of religion and worldly considerations, with so much tenderness and charity, and would make such handsome apologies for interposing his judgment and advice, that whatever good he might do upon the parties concerned, yet, he never did, apparently, *hurt himself* by his pastoral monitions; but his addresses and exhortations were taken in such good part, that he had generally the justice done him to be thought a real friend by the persons themselves to whom he thus applied himself.

He seldom had recourse, as was before observed, to his authority and powers by law; and never till he had found all persuasion and gentler advertisements vain. But he was not afraid of giving disturbance to persons of good figure among the gentry, if they did not, upon reasonable notice, remove any *scandal that was notorious* in the country.

The following letter was sent by him previous to a prosecution of this nature, which was well enough known at the time it was carried on. But as it may now be in great measure forgotten, the name of the Baronet to whom it was written,

and of the places which might distinguish the case, are purposely concealed.

“ Sir,

“ It is truly very grievous to me that my first return for the civilities I received from you at. and which I do thankfully acknowledge, should be a letter of such a nature as I am now to write to you, and which I am sensible must be very displeasing to you, but indeed I cannot help it. I heard so much at. of your *cohabiting with* a woman that is not your wife, and of the *great scandal* that is thereby given, that I should be extremely wanting to the duty of my place if I should not take notice of it to you : nay, indeed, my silence in this matter would be an argument to the country that I approved of your practice, I having but the day before *publickly admitted* you to the Sacrament, which I must confess I would not have done had I then known so much as I was informed of the day after.

“ I have heard what you alledge in your own defence ; but it doth by no means satisfy me. Let your circumstances with relation to your lady be as they will (and truly I am informed that on your side they are very pitiable,) yet I cannot conceive how they will ever justify your living with another woman while your lady

is alive ; no, nor after her death, without lawful marriage.

“ I could heartily wish, Sir, you could be prevailed with to send that gentlewoman away. It would both remove a *great offence*, which, by your keeping her, you have given to the country, and also prevent a great deal of trouble and vexation which will necessarily come upon her and you (and I know not how to help it,) by a prosecution in the ecclesiastical court, if you continue in this course of life.

“ I beseech you, Sir, to take in good part what I thought myself obliged in conscience now to lay before you. I assure you I mean it kindly and respectfully, and should be glad of any opportunity of shewing myself,

“ Sir,

“ Your affectionate friend and servant,

“ JO. EBOR.”

But as neither this letter nor another that he wrote to the same gentleman, on the same occasion, had the desired effect, he ordered a *Citation* to be issued out of the Court for bringing the matter to a judicial cognizance.

To conclude this article concerning his conduct towards *the laity* in his diocese *notoriously* misbehaving themselves ; he took care always to be *sure of his charge* before he laid it, and to

put it no *stronger* than he could justify it. He was ever cautious (especially in cases where the gentlemen of the country were any ways concerned,) how and from whom he received informations; and ever backward to give ear to any who had not some proper and immediate right to complain. He was well aware of the difficulties he should bring both upon himself and others should he too easily admit any notices that nearly concerned a man's honour and character, and take any steps upon such advertisements. He always disliked and discouraged, and chiefly upon this account, *the Societies for the Reformation of Manners*; which were begun to be set up within his diocese (as they were in many others) about the year 1697. He was unwilling to check well-meaning people in any design that seemed to tend to God's honour, and the good of mankind, and yet he feared whereunto the liberty that those societies began to take *would grow*.

As he differed in some measure from several of the other bishops and clergymen in his sentiments of these societies, which for some years made no little noise in the world; it will not be amiss to relate the steps he took, and give the letters he wrote concerning those which were forming within his own diocese and province.

The first account he received of any such scheme taking place within his jurisdiction, was from *Nottingham*, where a society was formed, upon certain laws and rules to be observed by the members: and was quickly grown so considerable, as to propose, the having a quarterly *lecture* upon the subject of reformation, at which they invited the clergymen of Nottinghamshire to assist in their turns; who readily promised their assistance, provided the Archbishop approved of it. Upon this the society applied to him, begging his licence for such a lecture, and that he would be pleased to signify his pleasure to Mr. Caryl, a very worthy clergyman and minister of Saint Mary's in Nottingham, whom they had pitched upon to open this lecture. Upon this he wrote to Mr. Caryl in the following manner.

January 29, 1697-8.

“ Good Sir,

“ I received a letter about ten days ago from some persons at Nottingham, not named, who call themselves “ the *Society for Reformation.*” I was a little surprised to find that that which not two months before, when Mr. Ellis first gave me an account of the project, seemed to me but an embryo, should so suddenly be grown into a just body.

“ I am no enemy to reformation of manners, (for God knows we too much need it,) nor to any means that conduce to the promoting of sincere virtue and piety, either in ourselves or others. On the contrary, I would to the utmost of my power encourage all lawful expedients that can be desired for the serving of these ends. But as for what is desired of me in this letter, viz. that I would approve and license a quarterly lecture to be preached to this society, I cannot readily give an answer to it, till I be better satisfied about these two things.

“ First, whether I can lawfully do it, the resolution of which depends upon this question, whether these kind of fraternities and confederations be allowed by the *laws of this realm and the constitutions of our church*. As to which point I must confess I am not sufficiently clear.

“ The other thing I must be satisfied about is, the *rules and orders* of this society at Nottingham in particular.

“ These I undertand are not always the same in all the societies that have been of late set up. And what your rules are at Nottingham I am perfectly a stranger to. And yet, methinks, they ought to have been *laid before me*, before I could be supposed capable of giving an answer how far I could concur with what is desired of me.

“ As for the first of these points, I must get my

satisfaction as I can. As to the other, the gentlemen of the society are able to give it me, and I hope they will. In the mean time, till I can give a more positive answer, you may please to tell the gentlemen, that, though I *would not have been the first adviser* of such a combination as this is, yet now that they are actually entered into it, and for good ends as I verily hope, they shall meet with no discouragement from me, so long as their methods are regular, and their proceedings *modest, and prudent, and inoffensive*. Nay, further, I shall be ready to give them the best assistance and direction I can, if they think me worthy of being consulted with.

“I could wish that their first lecture, which is designed to be preached by you on the second Tuesday in February, might be put off till I had an account of the constitution of their society, and the laws they have agreed upon. But if these be uneasy to the gentlemen that are concerned, I do not forbid you to preach at the time and place they desire.

“I desire you to present my service to them. I am, with hearty wishes of their and your happiness,

“Sir,

“Your affectionate brother,

“JO. EBOR.”

This letter produced another from the society, dated February 2d 1697-8, wherein they excuse themselves for not informing him before of their rules, &c., and send him a copy of all their orders and votes, &c., which immediately drew a second letter from him to Mr. Caryl, in the words following.

“ Good Sir,

“ On Friday last I received a letter from the gentlemen of your society, with a copy of their rules and orders. I desire you to return my thanks to them for the civility and respect they are pleased to express to me in their letter, and to assure them that I would be glad to serve all of them, and every one of them in particular, (if I knew them,) in any way that I can.

“ I have read over their orders, and that I might be the better able to make a judgment of them, I have compared them with the orders of the London societies as they were given by Mr. Woodward, (whose book I had not seen when I wrote my last letter,) and likewise with the orders framed by Doctor Horneck, and agreed to by the first societies of this kind in London, and by which they have in a great measure ever since been governed.

“ Upon this comparison I cannot but observe a great difference between the societies in London

(to which I am told several bishops have given their countenance,) and that lately set up at Nottingham.

“ The principal end for which these societies formed in London, was to promote piety and devotion and all christian virtues and graces *among their own members*; and the meddling with others who were not of the society was not thought on till of late, and still it is but a *secondary* end. Whereas the whole business and design of founding this society at Nottingham (as far as I can judge by the orders and rules of their constitution) is to reform others, that are not of the society, by getting the *laws to be put in execution* against them. But as for the reforming themselves, or the improving one another in holy christian living, there is little provision made. I must confess I think it is of a great deal more consequence, both to a man’s self, and to the public, that he use all means possible, to be devout, humble, charitable, and (in a word) in all things to live like a christian himself, than to be zealous in *informing against others* who do not live like christians. The first is of certain benefit, both to a man’s self and others; but the other may be often both indiscreet and vexatious.

I do not deny that this design of theirs to have the laws put in execution against profane-

ness and immorality is a very good one, and deserves all encouragement. And I myself would inspirit all that I converse with, as much as I could, to contribute all their lawful endeavours towards it in their place and station. But, on the other side, I do not take it to be proper for me, *as a clergyman*, to take upon me either to erect or to authorize any society for this purpose: nor do I think it proper to my function if such societies be set up to do any *episcopal act about them* (as licensing of preachers is an episcopal act), any more than I think it proper to give orders to my clergy about *business that belongs to justices of peace*.

“ The truth is, as the society at Nottingham is constituted, it seems to me, they would receive better directions for the carrying on their work, from the *charges* that they may hear from the justices of peace at the sessions, than they can from the *sermons* of the Clergy.

“ I observe another difference between your society at Nottingham, and those of London, which is a very material one with me. One of the articles which all those who enter into any of these societies in London are bound to subscribe to, is this; that they declare themselves that they are, or will be, of the communion of the Church of England; that they will frequent the Liturgy; that they will once a month receive

the holy sacrament, &c. Whereas your constitution is, that all dissenters may be admitted into your society, provided they be persons of sobriety and integrity.

“ *I am not against the coalition of churchmen with dissenters*, in any matter where they can go together in promoting the common cause of religion or good manners. So far from that, I heartily wish them well. And it would be the most pleasing thing in the world to me, if we could all be united in one body. And, in the meantime, while we continue separate, I would have all possible tenderness and kindness shewed to all good men amongst them. But while the laws stand as they do, I do not know how I can, without breach of that trust that is committed to me, come into the project and scheme that the gentlemen of your society have laid down for themselves. You desire me to license a quarterly lecture to be preached to the society. Is it not natural, that those of the society who are dissenters, should also desire a lecture to be sometimes preached *to the society in their meetings*? And can you deny this request of theirs. Is it not reasonable (since you are all on the same *level* as members of the society) that you should comply with them as they with you?

“ If now the case be thus, I must profess to you, I can by no means allow any clergyman of

my diocese to preach as a lecturer of this society, because it would be giving an encouragement to the *breaking of those laws* which I hold myself bound in conscience to see observed as far as I can.

“ I desire you (good Mr. Caryl), to represent to the gentlemen these difficulties I have upon me. I beg my service to them. I have spoke my mind plainly, and without reserve. If they can so agree among themselves as to come in, as to the main parts, *to the rules* set down by Mr. Woodward or Doctor Horneck (which are to be found in that Doctor’s Life, wrote by the Bishop of Bath and Wells), I shall, with some little alterations or additions, comply with them.

“ This is writ in very great haste, and I have not time to take a copy of it. And therefore I pray keep it, that I may have it again.

“ I am, your’s,

“ JO. EBOR.”

Thus he quashed the design of a quarterly lecture. And how well he judged of the advantages that the dissenting ministers would make of it, *by claiming to be heard in their turns*, appeared not long after (though not within his own diocese, where he prevented it, yet) in another part of his province, as will be seen hereafter. In the meantime, that he might shew

them how desirous he was to gratify them as far as he could, he allowed that they might have a sermon once in a quarter, provided it was preached by a clergyman of known character and discretion, and also on that day of the week on which the weekly lecture was preached, so that it might pass for one of those courses. And the same liberty he gave to his Clergy in and about Hull, where there was a considerable society for reformation formed, and also a weekly lecture established, as at Nottingham.

Not long after these two societies were formed, viz. in 1699, several persons at York, both of the Church of England, and of the Dissenters, were very zealous to have a society in that city formed upon the same model. But the great difficulty was how to reconcile him to the project. The Clergy were backward, knowing how coldly he received all those proposals; and the dissenters complained of unreasonable scruples in him. Among some of the expressions used to their *corresponding reformers* of the other societies, there were these.

“ We do not find the difficulty that we feared. There are several sober men of the Church of England that incline to be active in putting the laws in execution against vice. But how to proceed safely, seems to be the present great objection; for his Grace the Archbishop of York

(whose character is *so well known throughout England*, as needs not my enlargement), expresses such caution of breaking the just and good laws of men, as that he encourages not men's associating themselves in order to inform against vice, least they thereby bring themselves into a præmunire as offenders. We have the promise of a sober, good gentleman to take informations from any against immorality and profaneness, and never to discover the informer. This we know that God can do great things, and wonderful, and we despair not but that he will effect a wonder for York. Poor York; the second city in the kingdom, and likely to be the last in reformation; but better late than never," &c.

It was said "his Grace's scruple must cease, if once his query was but put into plain English, viz. whether it be lawful for private persons to assist the magistrates by informations, &c. to put the laws in execution for the suppressing vice," &c. And that he should not want proper admonitions and advice, care was taken to procure letters from those persons who were presumed to have good interest with him, begging of him to espouse and encourage this pious design at York. In some of the letters he received from men of note, these societies were represented as "the last effort likely to be made for

the *suppressing vice and immorality*; that if this was not defeated, it might be concluded their cause was then desperate. That great weight was laid upon his concurrence; that it was presumed upon, that there could be no place for deliberation, and the like.’

But he appears to have made a better judgment at that time of that whole affair, than most other men did, not even excepting some of the bishops themselves, and was not to be prevailed upon to alter his sentiments, without having better reasons given than were offered to him. He wrote several letters upon the subject to such Clergy as enquired after his opinion, not only within his diocese, but throughout his province. But as none of his letters are more full, and better express his sentiments, than the two following, they are for that reason inserted here as his vindication from those partial suggestions that were raised upon his not countenancing the society at his metropolis. The occasion was thus. The Chancellor of Carlisle, with some other justices of the peace, had set on foot a society in that city, in imitation of many others in the kingdom *into which they had admitted the dissenters*. The bishop of that diocese had been applied to by them for his countenance and encouragement; but was under difficulties concerning the steps he ought in *prudence* to take

upon such their application. Upon which, Archdeacon Nicholson, to relieve his diocesan, consulted his Grace as Metropolitan. And this occasioned the following letter, in answer to the enquiry.

“ Reverend Sir,

“ I had the favour of your’s, which that I did not answer sooner, you must impute to the many affairs of sundry kinds (some of them small enough, but unavoidable) which do here take up our time.

“ I myself have always been averse to such sort of confederacies or combinations, whether of clergy or others, as are now on *foot every where*; whether they be those they call religious societies, or those of a later standing, which go under the name of societies for reformation; as doubting whether they be legal in themselves, (though, with submission, I think it may bear a dispute whether they come under those ‘*conventicles*’ which are forbid in the 12th and 73d canons). And apprehending likewise, that some time or other we may feel ill consequences from them. And for these reasons I refused my subscription the last year to that book which was writ for the recommending these societies; though I was earnestly, by letters from two of the bishops, pressed to join my hand with theirs.

“ But though these be my *private* sentiments, I find many of the bishops of another mind. Some of them look upon these societies for reformation to be of mighty use. And considering how remiss the magistrates generally are in executing the laws against prophaneness and immorality, they think there is no other way to retrieve that zeal for religion which is every where lost among us, and to promote a reformation of manners, but by such a joint endeavour of well disposed persons.

“ And accordingly they do what they can to promote these societies in their respective dioceses. Others of the bishops go not so far, but content themselves to endeavour the regulating and keeping them within bounds where they are voluntarily entered into.

“ The truth is, the societies of London have been so industrious in spreading their books, and the success they have had (as they say) in this way, has made such a noise every where, that the whole nation almost hath taken the alarm. And so eagerly in many places are the minds of people set upon these new methods, that it may justly be doubted whether it be in the bishop's power to stifle or suppress these societies, though he should use his utmost endeavours to do it.

“ Add to this, that many of the clergy take

encouragement to enter into these societies, from a passage of my Lord of Canterbury's circular letter which was sent the last year to the bishops of his province, though it is certain in that passage he did not intend the setting up such formal associations under rules and articles as are now formed in many places. The passage is in the fourth paragraph, where he says—
'It were to be wished that the clergy of every neighbourhood would agree upon frequent meetings to consult for the good of religion, &c. And these meetings might still be made a greater advantage to the clergy in carrying on the reformation of men's lives and manners, by inviting the churchwardens of their several parishes and other pious persons among the laity to join with them in the execution of the most probable methods that can be suggested for those good ends. And we may very reasonably expect the happy effects of such a concurrence from the visible success of that noble zeal, wherewith so many about the cities of London and Westminster do promote true piety,' &c.

“I have transcribed thus much out of that printed letter for fear you should not have it by you.

“Upon these considerations I am thus far come into these projects, that I tell my clergy when any of them apply to me about this matter

(as very lately some of them have done,) that as for their meeting together, as they have convenience of neighbourhood, for the promoting of religion and reformation in their parishes, it is a thing I would advise them to. But as for the societies for reformation that are now on foot in several places, they are *new things*, and for which there is no foundation in our laws and canons; and we do not know what consequences they may in time produce. And therefore I dare not be the author or adviser to any one, either clergymen or laymen, to embark in these projects. Nevertheless being sensible that a great *many wise and good men do approve of these societies, I will not think the worse of any man for engaging in them.* Nor shall these societies meet with any discouragement from me, so long as they keep within the bounds which the laws of the land and of the church have prescribed.

“ Letters to this effect I have written to some of my clergy who consulted me; but I must confess I came *not to this degree* of compliance till after a great deal of discourse with several of the bishops.

“ What my Lord Bishop of Carlisle will think fit to do in the present case of the Chancellor must be left to his own prudence, which I know is very great. I must confess I dare not advise him. Only this I believe I may say, that I

think that he will have gained a *good point* if he can prevail with *Mr. Chancellor* to quit his dissenting associates; and if he be resolved on a society for reformation, let only such be taken into it as are hearty churchmen.

“ Sir, your affectionate servant,

“ JO. EBOR,”

“ Feb. 27th, 1699.”

Upon the receipt of this seasonable letter, the Bishop of Carlisle (as the archdeacon acquainted his archbishop in his answer a few days after,) being now delivered from his perplexities, resolved upon the following expedient, both for the direction of his clergy, and for the effectually preventing any further solicitations from the members of the society. He drew up a paper which he dispersed in his diocese, wherein he recommended to his clergy to promote the good ends of *his Majesty's late proclamation*, not only by their sermons, but by their voluntary meetings and conferences, or other *methods allowed by the canons of the church, and laws of the land*. That they would in these conferences (if they saw it necessary,) request the assistance of such *justices of the peace*, or other persons of note and gravity as might best forward their good designs, provided they were well affected to the doctrine and discipline of the Established Church.

In the meantime the Chancellor sends the Archbishop a copy of the rules and orders of the society at Carlisle, and apologizes very handsomely for himself, and the rest who were concerned with him. And Archdeacon Nicolson gives him an account of an *usual agreement at Brampton*, in the same diocese, between the neighbouring *clergy and a dissenting minister*.

To both which he answers in the following letter to the Archdeacon.

“ Good Mr. Archdeacon,

“ I hope by that time I received your second letter, my answer to your first had reached you. I believe you will not think me too favourable to these new societies, but in truth, as the state of things is among us, I do not yet find reason to alter my sentiments.

“ As for that you mention at Brampton, where the vicars have obliged themselves to take their turns with the minister of a dissenting congregation at a weekly lecture; if the meaning of that be that they are to take their turns in *preaching at his meeting*, or that he is to take his turn in preaching at their churches, or lastly that they *are to go and hear him preach in his turn at the conventicle*, I say, if any of these things be meant in that article (and what other meaning it can have I cannot find out,) I think the thing

ought not to be suffered, but they should be admonished to forbear such practices; being directly *contrary to our constitution*, and to the engagements they are under to preserve it.

“ Since my last to you I have seen a copy of the articles which your society at Carlisle have subscribed, and upon which it is founded. I dare now speak a little more positively to this matter than I did before.

“ I must confess if a society was entered into at York upon these articles, I should neither give the members of it any *disturbance nor any discouragement*. I should only wish that those of the clergy who joined in it would add an article or two more, whereby they should more particularly oblige themselves to the reading of prayers on Wednesdays, and Fridays, and holidays, or in populous towns every day, unless they were hindered by some urgent business. *Secondly*, to the holding monthly communions in their parishes, and *lastly* to the diligent attendance upon catechising and instructing the youth of their parishes in the principles of Christianity. The practice of which things will in my poor opinion more contribute to the promoting a reformation, than the informing against criminals, though that is a good work too.

“ Sir, I have freely given you my sense about the matters of your two letters. I am, with

sincere respects to my Lord Bishop, and to yourself,

“ Sir, your very affectionate,

“ Friend and servant,

“ JO. EBOR.”

“ *March 5th, 1699.*”

The archdeacon made a very good use of this letter with the clergy about Brampton, he convinced them of their error, and prevailed upon them to break their combination.

It appears from these letters, and indeed from his whole conduct with respect to these societies, that he was as unwilling to oppose any useful or commendable designs as to give encouragement to any uncanonical proceedings; the scheme of reformation which seemed in his opinion to bid the fairest for success was, that all they, whether of the clergy or laity, who undertook to promote it in others, should lay out their labours first of all in amending themselves; and that till they became exemplary men in their persons, they were not *duly and sufficiently qualified* to attempt the reformation of a degenerate age. This was the great labour of his own life, to grow better and better every day; which he thought of all others the most likely means to render a man truly serviceable to the interests of religion, and a public bless-

ing to his country. Whosoever compares this his judgment or principle with *Cardinal du Retz's* determination of his own conduct upon his promotion to the Archbishopric of Paris, will see how widely different were their respective sentiments and resolutions*. The one thought that in point of *mere prudence or worldly policy* (all other considerations being abstracted,) it was doubtless more safe and more effectual for serving the ends of his profession and calling, to counterfeit godliness and virtue, than to practise them in reality; and to guard against *the appearances of evil rather than against the thing itself*. But the other judged that the reformation of mankind was not to be effected by *arts and human subtleties*, or otherwise than by the real practice as well as profession of godliness; that not only the merit, but in great measure the *capacity* of being instrumental in that work, was lost in one who did not conscientiously

* “ Je pris apres six jours de reflexion le parti de faire le mal par dessein, ce qui est sans compareuson le plus criminal devant Dieu, mais ce qui est sans doute le plus sage devant le monde. —Voila la sainte disposition avec laquelle je sortis de St. Lazare. Elle ne fut pourtant pas de tout point mauvaise. Car j'avois pris une ferme resolution de remplir exactement tous les devoirs de ma profession, et d'être aussi homme de bien pour le salut des autres, que je pouvois être mechant pour moimeme.”—*Memoirs du Cardinal de Retz. Vol. I. Liv. 2. p. 61. 8vo. Armst. 1719.*

strive to be himself what he proposed to make others. And therefore he frequently repeated this lesson to his clergy, that the main part of their business as pastors was to be themselves sincerely and *substantially* good: that if they were so, and withal were punctual in observing the rules prescribed them in the *rubricks and canons*, they took the most certain and effectual methods to render themselves *useful* in their *ministry*, and eminently serviceable, *under God*, to the cause of Christ and his religion. And therefore his principle aim in the choice and designation of persons for the service of the church (so far as that fell to his share and became his immediate concern,) was to find out those whose private lives and characters did best correspond with this idea of a successful pastor, viz. that he himself be a true and faithful servant of God.

Thus it is observable when he recommended clerks to patrons, the sufficiency of their learning was but one, and the *least material* part of their character. He laid the main stress upon their *life* and *temper*, and thought himself secure in warranting a person of *regular life, right honest, and well tempered*, to be a *good parish minister*. In large and populous towns indeed, where a greater degree of *learning and prudence is usually necessary*, he was careful to have regard to those

qualifications *also*, as well when he recommended to others as when he received recommendations from them, always endeavouring to fill vacant livings with such persons as were sufficiently qualified to answer the *particular wants of the respective cures*. Which was a point that he had more regard to than any considerations of *favour, friendship, or interest*.

But how justly soever this rule in disposing of church preferments will approve itself to all considering people, yet it is easy to conceive that his adherence to it would be interpreted by some as an humoursome unreasonable delicacy, and would draw upon him when he refused to prefer clerks that were recommended to him, *difficulties if he concealed his reasons*, and complaints and *greater difficulties if he gave them*. The following instance will shew both his address and temper on such occasions.

The Duke of Leeds had recommended him a clerk (one who was already beneficed in the diocese of York by the duke's own presentation,) for one of the most considerable cures in the county, in the Archbishop's gift. But as he was *most* careful and conscientious in the choice of persons to serve in those places which were under *his* patronage, so he found it necessary to desire that the duke would not lay his commands upon him in this particular, giving for

his reason that *he much doubted whether the person recommended to him had all the qualifications necessary for the discharge of so great and so difficult a post.* Upon this he was civilly called upon by the duke, but not altogether so civilly by the clerk, to declare what he meant by that doubt with which he had excused himself from granting the favour that had been asked.

To the duke he wrote thus.

“ My Lord,

“ Since your Grace commands me to explain myself as to what I wrote about Mr. ——, I will do it sincerely.

The things that lay uppermost in my mind, when I said that I was afraid that he had not all the qualifications necessary for the discharge of such a post, were these two. I thought that town needed one of a higher *form of learning and prudence*, than in my opinion Mr. —— was. And besides, being a town much given to *good fellowship*, I was afraid, if he came thither, he would be exposed to too much temptation that way.

“ This, my Lord, is all I meant by that expression, and I hope it will do him no prejudice with your Grace, or hinder him of any preferment you designed him. And I hope likewise,

that since your Grace obliges me to write thus freely, that *it is to yourself only that I write.*

“ I am, my Lord,

“ With the greatest respects, &c.

“ JO. EBOR.”

To the clerk he answered in these words.

“ Sir,

“ I received your letter, which I had answered sooner, but that I had a great deal of other business upon my hands. As to the synodals, I leave it to yourself, both to pay what you please of them, and when you please; *for I am not used to be hard upon the Clergy in those matters.* Though, in strictness of law, you may be called upon for those that were due in your predecessor's time, as well as those that have become due since you came to the living; they being, like the King's tenths, chargeable upon the rectories and vicarages; so that whoever is incumbent is liable to all arrears. But far be it from me to make any such demands.

As for the complaining part of your letter, I will give you a short answer to it. I did express my unwillingness to comply with the duke's request on your behalf; not upon account of any unkindness, or ill will to you (as God knoweth I have none), but purely because it

was my opinion (as it is of others also, who have known you better than I can pretend to do,) that was neither a fit place for you, nor you a fit man for it.

“ Now, if this was my opinion, why might I not say it, especially when I was under a kind of necessity of giving some reason for my refusal of what his Grace had moved to me ?

“ But you call this a crimination, a drawing up a charge against you. I wonder why you should do so. What have I accused you of? What crime have I laid to your charge? I dare say there are an hundred clergymen in this diocese, of whom I know no ill, and therefore to be sure would not *charge them with any*; nay, whom I believe to be very good men, of whom yet, if they were candidates for I would not scruple to say, that I am afraid they had not all the qualifications necessary for the discharge of so important and difficult a post.

“ As for what you desire, that I would give you a particular account of what qualifications I think you want for that place. *I do not think it a proper argument for a letter.* But, if you will give me an opportunity of talking with you, I will sincerely tell you my whole heart about this matter, and what my reasons were of my so expressing myself to the Duke of Leeds. In

the mean time I am, with hearty wishes of all good to you,

“ Sir, your loving friend, &c.

“ JO. EBOR.”

Great was the *mildness of this answer*, considering the style of the letter to which he replied, and the temper of the person he wrote to. But it is a genuine specimen of that courtesy which he shewed to all, how differently soever they might behave towards himself. He was not easily thrown off his bias, or put out of his naturally sweet temper, though, at the same time, he was not to be diverted from steadily pursuing the rules he had laid down for his own conduct in the discharge of his office.

He was observed to act so conscientiously and cautiously in the choice of fit persons to serve in the Church, that sometimes the patrons of livings, who were well acquainted with him, would refer the designation of the clerk, upon a vacancy, entirely to himself. And this not only within his own diocese, but in other parts of his province. And sometimes, when he was not applied to or consulted, he would himself take the liberty of *reminding patrons of the importance of observing the trusts that were by the laws reposed in them*; desiring them to consider how much they were concerned that *the people*

of those parishes to which they presented should be provided of a good minister, one that was sober and regular, and preached to them *by his life*, as well as his sermons.

To a noble lord, who was more than ordinarily delicate in the choice of clerks for livings in his gift, and who had desired the Archbishop to give him a man for a benefice in the diocese of Carlisle, in his patronage, that *would set up his rest there, and expect no other preferment, &c.*; he wrote the following character of the clergyman he had pitched upon for his lordship's service, viz. "He is a good scholar, of a regular life, a right honest and good tempered man, and will take a conscientious care of his flock.

"I do not name him to your lordship but with a design that he should make good all the points that your lordship requires, viz. that he shall constantly reside upon the place, and make it the whole business of his life to look after his cure. My Lord, if your lordship gives him the living, he takes it upon these conditions, and I will undertake they shall be made good."

By this it appears that the Archbishop did allow of promises and contracts at the taking of livings, provided they were not of a Simonical nature, had nothing of a pecuniary consideration, nor any relation to the *profits or rights of the benefice*. For when either of these came into

question, or were but suspected; if he had but the slightest intimation of any Simonical contract, or illegal method of trafficking for preferment between patron and clerk, he was sure to interpose, as occasion offered, and prevent, if he could, any conclusion being made upon such terms. Nor did he think any man too great to be advertised of the *mischief* and *scandal* of such practices. A testimony of this his liberty here follows, being a letter to a noble lord whom report had represented as too much inclined to make an *illegal composition for one of his livings*.

“ My Lord,

“ It is very uneasy to me to meddle in other men’s matters, and especially in the affairs of persons of your quality. But this that I now take the confidence to write about, is such, that neither the duty of my place, nor the honour I have for your lordship, will suffer me to be silent in it.”

(*Here follows the particular case.*)

“ I would gladly believe that the stories that are told about this affair, are not true; good my Lord, be pleased to *consider your own honour*; to consider *the trust that is reposed in you as a patron*, to consider *the honour of God and religion*. All which cannot but suffer by your permission of ecclesiastical benefices to be thus prostituted.

I have no design in the world in this representation I make to your lordship, but what I am sure, if you knew my heart, you would not only approve of, but *thank me for*, viz. the doing some part of my duty to God, and paying all the respects and service I am capable of to your lordship.

“And therefore I will not doubt of your goodness in putting a *kind construction* upon my action.

“I heartily pray God to bless your lordship and your noble family. I am, my Lord, with great sincerity,

“Your lordship’s most faithful humble servant,
“JO. EBOR.”

In another case, when a certain lady offered him the nomination of the person whom she should present to a living in her gift, in the diocese of Chester, and he had given her ladyship the choice or option of two men that he could answer for, hearing something that led him into suspicion that some *dishonourable* terms were designed to be proposed to the clerk at his taking the presentation, he took care in time to put in this caution in a letter to her. “But Madam, I must beg leave to represent to you, that if it be expected that the person that is to be presented by your ladyship, should

enter into any promise or engagement of any kind relating to the rights and profits of the parsonage, I must humbly desire to be excused from recommending any one, though yet I will answer for either of those persons I have named that all that I shall propose to them *as fit, or equitable, or decent*, shall be performed by them, though *without any promise.*”

In a third case, he refused to give institution, because he had reason to suspect that there was a Simonical contract for the obtaining the presentation. But he withal declared, that if the patron would *give it under his hand* that he had made no sort of bargain or contract with the clerk or his father; or that, if any such was made, he did release them from it, upon these terms he would grant institution. When the twenty-eight days from the tender of the presentation were expired, the clerk, attended by a public notary, demanded institution, or reasons why it was refused. They were given as before, with a further exception against the presentation; upon which the Archbishop was served with an order to answer to a bill in Chancery that was filed against him. To which he caused his appearance to be made. But the matter came not to an issue there, for the patron did soon after, under his own hand, declare with great solemnity, that he had made no bar-

gain or contract in the granting that presentation, and institution was given thereupon.

In point of residence, he was as strict with his Clergy as the circumstances of their benefices and reasons of their particular cases would bear. And he had so great a *dislike to pluralities* of livings (unless they were small and contiguous), in which case there seemed *some necessity for them to be held in one hand*, that he would threaten, when he foresaw they were aimed at, to oppose the dispensation as much as he could. Neither would he, for the same reason, make any titular chaplains, in order to qualify them for holding more benefices than one.

To a gentleman that begged that favour of him for a friend, he answered:—

“ To speak the truth (says he), I should not be easily prevailed upon to give certificates, even to those *that are really my chaplains*, if the design thereof be in order to their holding two livings. You know how odious pluralities are now grown, and how much the bishops in particular have been blamed upon that account, *with respect to their chaplains*. So that I think it concerns all of that order to be wonderfully tender in that point. I must confess, I once, upon great importunities, granted a qualification to an old friend who had a *great many children*, to hold two *contiguous* livings. But that is the

only time I broke my rule, and I would not willingly do it again.”

If this seem too great a strictness and disregard of the inferior clergy in refusing them favours, which the lay lords are willing to bestow upon them as far as they have opportunity; let it be remembered, that in all other respects, where the rules and constitutions of the Church (which he understood and kept to, according to their true meaning and *first* intention) did not confine him, he was an admirable friend to them, and not only promised, but gave them all the encouragement that he possibly could. And especially to those who *were constantly resident in their cures, and industrious in the business of their profession*. Such men as these always were entitled to his protection, his counsel, and, if they needed it, his purse also. Something should be said in justice to him upon each of these articles of his kindness to his clergy.

They who behaved themselves diligently and exemplarily in their calling, might depend upon being *supported by him against any opposition or oppression that they met with*, as far as either his authority or his interest would go. If he heard of their being ill-treated, or discouraged, or of endeavours *used to prejudice their people against them, by disparaging them or their performances*, he would, after due enquiry into the truth of

the complaint, write himself to those who were blameable in this respect, and represent to them "how bad a thing it was to take such methods of defeating the benefit of a minister's labours, as being the most effectual course that could be taken to *render them insignificant*. That the *honour of God and religion*, and the *good of the people* did demand of them, and he did beg of them to do so no more. That, for his own part, he was so well satisfied of his Clergy's serious endeavours to do good, that, as far as his authority went, he would stand by them and vindicate them." He would apply himself also to the *principal gentlemen* of any parish where he thought the minister stood in need of their countenance and encouragement, to shew him their favour, and to give him their assistance in the discharge of his duty. And to use their interest in protecting him from all unjust or unreasonable attacks upon his character, which might make his ministry *ineffectual*. And if by these means he could not procure that ease and quiet to an industrious clergyman, that he thought he deserved, he would endeavour to make him amends by a removal (which should likewise be an advancement), when a proper opportunity offered.

The relief which he gave his Clergy out of his *pocket*, when there was occasion, will more

properly fall under another head, in the latter part of this work, than in this place ; but the advantage which they reaped from his *advice*, to which they had free recourse in all their difficulties, is fittest to be mentioned here.

Whenever he was *consulted about their parochial concerns, he immediately answered their queries, and clearly and positively determined them.* In all his letters of this kind, which are left, there is but one in which he is something doubtful what to resolve ; but even there he leaves no doubt or difficulty upon the clergyman who consulted him, by permitting, or rather advising him to follow his own first determination. The case not being very common, *about the marriage of a person with a quaker*, according to the usage of the Church, the letter itself will not be disagreeable.

“ November 30, 1700.

“ Sir,

“ The case which you propose hath some difficulty in it, since our present canons say nothing about it. The *old canons*, indeed, are express against any person being married, *who was not first baptized.* But then in those times marriage was accounted a sacrament, and baptism was *janua sacramentorum.* On the other side, though marriage be no sacrament, but all men

and women have a natural right to it, yet whether any who are not initiated in Christianity, ought to have the *solemn* benediction of the Church (*as it is upon that account that the Clergy have any thing to do with marriage*), is a thing fit to be considered. Add to this, that there is something in the Church office which supposeth that both the married persons are baptized. For, according to the rubric, it is “convenient that they receive the holy communion together at the first opportunity that presents itself.” And therefore they must be in a condition of receiving it, which *unbaptized* persons are not.

“Pray ask yourself what you would do in case a person *excommunicated* should desire you to marry him. Methinks the case is much the same.

“I do think, upon the whole, it is not advisable to depart from your first resolution, unless the party will be first baptized, which I am not against your doing as privately as may be.

“I am, Sir, &c.

“JO. EBOR.”

Another thing for which the Clergy might certainly depend upon him, as often as they stood in need of it, *was the support and assistance of his episcopal authority*, in restraining

licentiousness, preserving order and discipline, and enforcing the ecclesiastical laws of the realm. Such complaints as were made to himself, he took care himself to see redressed, if they came within the cognizance of his courts; and would frequently confer with his officers (and he was provided *with an able set of men*), about the fittest methods of executing the powers the laws had invested them with. This he seldom failed to do, in all those causes depending in his courts where any of his Clergy or the rights of their churches were concerned; or *where the reformation of delinquents by ecclesiastical censures was aimed at*. And as he guarded on the one hand against the *neglects of inferior officers*, and was vigilant in seeing those powers exerted which the laws had lodged with him; so he was very careful, on the other hand, not to abuse them, by giving *needless trouble and distress*, either to clergy or laity, when *no other end* could be answered by it, than shewing his power and authority over them. He rightly *distinguished discipline from persecution*. And as the latter is *never allowable*, so neither did he think the former *seasonable*, but in such cases where the mild and gentle methods of persuasion proved ineffectual. He wished the Clergy to try, first all the *softer* means of reforming delinquents in their several parishes. And *then*, if

they stood further in need of the aid of their ordinary, he was ready to afford them all the assistance that the laws enabled him to give them. One letter of this sort, wrote to a clergyman in his diocese, will shew sufficiently his temper and judgment in this matter.

“ *May 21, 1698.*

“ Sir,

“ I have been informed that several of your parishioners, even a considerable number of them, are *exceedingly negligent* of the worship of God on the Lord’s day ; neither attending prayers nor sermon, nor any other ordinances of religion. I did think at first they might be dissenters against whom these complaints were made ; who, though they did not appear at church, yet served God in private meetings. But I am told the matter is otherwise, and *that they do not serve God at all.*

“ If this be true, I am sorry for it, and I am sure it concerns *both you and me* to do what we can to have it amended. I beseech you, therefore, Sir, that you will take some pains with these people, that they may be brought to some sense of their duty ; and do not content yourself with *general* preaching against irreligion and profaneness, and neglect of God’s worship ; which they will *be little better for, since*

they do not come to hear you: but be pleased to go to *them*, and talk to them, man by man, and try what you can do towards the awakening them out of their *state of dozedness and insensibility* of their greatest concernments. Endeavour to convince them of the absolute necessity there is of *owning God* and his religion, by joining in the public worship on the Lord's day, and receiving the holy sacrament at due times, if they either would have God's *blessing upon them and their labours*, and their *families in this world*, or would not perish everlastingly in the next.

“ I would hope your good discourses and persuasions will have effect upon them, and you may gain several of them to a more lively sense of religion than they have yet had. And I must confess I like these gentle methods a great deal better than force. But if, after all your endeavours, there be any that are *resolved to continue heathens*, and absolutely refuse coming to Church, I must desire you to *signify their names to me, at least of the chief of them*, that other methods may be tried with them, such as the law has provided for the reformation of offenders of this nature.

“ With my hearty wishes of the blessing of God upon all your good endeavours, I rest,

“ Your affectionate friend and brother,

“ J. O. EBOR.”

When delinquents were proceeded against in his Court, he would use all kind endeavours to have them brought to a due sense of their fault, and a ready submission to the authority and sentence of the ecclesiastical court, before excommunication was denounced against them. And he would not only put the Clergy upon trying to convince them both of their sin, and of the dangerous consequence of their being *cut off from communion* with the Church, but he would prevail with his officers *to respite proceedings till such trial was made*. And his fatherly concern and compassion for such offenders was not confined within the limits of his diocese, but was extended into other parts of his province. An instance of which, (that will serve to shew at once the greatness and extent of his tenderness on such occasions,) we have, in a letter that he wrote to the Commissary of Richmond, in the diocese of Chester, concerning a person under sentence of excommunication for *marrying his deceased wife's sister*, and refusing to obey the admonition of the ecclesiastical judge, by separating from her.

“ I know,” says he, “ Mr. Commissary, you have done nothing in this affair, but what you ought to do; nor have the Bishop of Chester or I any power to stop your proceedings, if we had a mind to it, which I dare say neither of us

are inclined to; for it is certain, this man and his pretended wife must be separated. But yet I could wish that all the tenderness might be used towards this poor man, that the circumstances of the thing will admit of; my meaning is, that you would give him and his wife some time to think of this fault of theirs, and to receive convictions of the unlawfulness or nullity of this their marriage. And therefore, if they be not already under the sentence of excommunication, I could wish you would defer it till another term; or, if they be under that sentence already, that you would order the curate not to publish it till further orders; or, if it be already published, that you would not immediately take out the writ *de Excom. Capiendo*, but give him time till all the means have been made use of to persuade him and his sister to obey the law in this matter. If you think this reasonable, then I would further beg of you to send some one of the clergymen about you, such an one as has reputation, and understands these matters, to discourse both with the man and woman about the unlawfulness of this marriage, and to dispose them, by a representation of the sin they live in, to do that voluntarily which must otherwise unavoidably come upon them, to their greater hurt and damage; I mean, total separation. I think all this would be charitable, and I hope it is

consistent with the ecclesiastical laws. And I believe it will do you no injury, but tend to your reputation," &c.

"December 20, 1705."

Upon the receipt of this, the proceedings were respited accordingly.

Again, when the sentence of excommunication was actually denounced and published against another person, who afterwards, in a fit of sickness, was penitent, and desired the sacrament; he empowered the minister of the place to absolve him *without the formal absolution under the court seal*, by virtue of the following letter.

"Bishopthorp, April 22, 1704.

"I have received and perused your letter, and am so well satisfied with the account you give of Mr., his repentance, that I would have you, or, if you think that word is too little, I do empower you to give him the sacrament, notwithstanding his excommunication; provided that, in the presence of some witness or witnesses, he do particularly *declare his sorrow for that fact*, for which he hath incurred the censure of excommunication; and withal *do promise*, that if it please God that he recover of this sickness, he will give such satisfaction

to the Church as the ecclesiastical court shall appoint. Upon these terms you may give him the sacrament, and he may have Christian burial. I pray you to *certify me* of what you do in this matter. As for a formal absolution, under the seal of the Court, I shall send that, if there be need of it, when I have talked with my chancellor, who at this time is from home. I wish Mr. happiness both in life and death.

“ I am, Sir, your affectionate friend,

“ JO. EBOR.”

Commutations for penances were things which he did not approve of in the general, and yet in some few and particular cases he thought them not only allowable, but expedient, viz. where the interests of religion were as well served by the commutation as by the personal penance; and where the application of it was made some way to the benefit and service of that church where the penance should have been performed, and where the minister of such church was consenting and advising to it. For which reason, he thought the Clergy themselves, *who generally were the best judges of the expediency of commutations*, should be consulted on those occasions. Here follows one of his letters to a minister of his diocese upon this subject.

“ December 19, 1704.

“ Sir,

“ I understand there is one Mrs. , of , presented in our court at York, for having had a bastard child ; and, as I am told, the sentence of excommunication is decreed against her for that fact. So that she must either speedily perform the penance enjoined her, or commute for it, or else there will be a *significavit*. I was, I believe, applied to while I was in Yorkshire, to grant a commutation of her penance. But I would do nothing in it, nor will I do now, without advising with you. You *know the state of the case* best, and can best resolve, whether the doing penance in person, or by money to be applied to the use of religion in your town, will be most serviceable to the public good. If you like this latter way better, viz. of commuting, then I would desire you to send me word what sum you think (considering the person's circumstances) may be insisted upon for a commutation. And likewise to what uses you would have it applied. For I would have it *entirely* applied to the use of the Church, and *as notoriously* as this her offence to it hath been. If, on the other hand, you are of opinion that this fault of her's ought not to be commuted for, but that it is for the interest of religion that she should do a personal

penance, I pray signify it to me. For I would in all cases, as far as is in my power, *make the public good the rule of my actions*. With my hearty wishes of all good to you, I am,

“ Your affectionate friend and servant,
 “ JO. EBOR.”

Indeed, *Church discipline* doth not deserve that name whenever the *public good is not made the rule of exercising it*. And it is either for want of a steady adherence to this rule in those who exercise ecclesiastical jurisdiction, or through an *unhappy appearance of this rule being forgotten in the manner of exercising it*, that so many complaints have been made against the *spiritual courts*, and so many invidious reflections cast upon them. He was very sensible, both of the decay of discipline in general, and of *the curbs put upon any effectual prosecutions of it by the temporal courts*, and of the difficulty of preserving and keeping up what little was left entire to the ecclesiastics, without *creating offence* and administering matter for aspersions and evil surmises. So far as it was in his power, either to remedy or obviate any complaints of this kind in his own diocese, he did it. He took care to put his own courts upon such a footing as should leave no room for exceptions against them, but such as might be made against their just rights

and legal privileges, which it was neither in his power to abridge them of, nor in his inclination to do it in the least article. He made enquiries of all his ecclesiastical officers, and of their rules of practice in all the several branches of their business; putting interrogatories concerning the orders and customs of the spiritual courts to the several judges, advocates, proctors, and acting registers in them; and upon their particular and distinct answers made, he regulated the practice of the courts, and declared and enjoined certain *rules and orders* to be observed by all the rural deans and surrogates acting by any authority from the ecclesiastical judges; and he reformed, at the same time, the *table of fees in his consistory*.

His "*Articles of Enquiry*," at the visitation of these courts, being drawn up by himself, in 1699, (though the regulation was not completed till 1705, and perhaps with good judgment,) are inserted at length in the appendix*.

He endeavoured, as often as occasion was given, to prevent or remove the restraints that were put upon church discipline by the temporal courts, and to clear up those difficulties in the exercise of it which were occasioned by the *statute laws*, especially *the act of toleration*; of

* App. I. No. V.

which instances will be given in a more proper place; though one may not be improperly mentioned here, to shew his concern to maintain all the force and effect that the laws had given to *ecclesiastical censures*.

He had observed, that the benefit designed by the legislature in the writ *de excommunicato capiendo* was evaded or eluded, by the frequent discharging of excommunicate persons out of custody by writs of *supersedeas* from the Chancery, grounded upon errors in the *significavit* of the excommunication by the ecclesiastical judges; which errors, nevertheless, the said judges did not know how to amend. And let the cause be what it would, the easiness of obtaining these writs of *supersedeas* was so well known by the *practising attorneys in the country*, that they did generally encourage all sorts of people to stand out in defiance of the Church censures. He wrote to the Archbishop of Canterbury upon this head in pressing terms, begging his advice and assistance, as in a matter that deeply affected the *whole ecclesiastical jurisdiction* of which his grace, next to the king (1698), was the chief patron. He sent him a full account of the case, as it stood in Yorkshire, and all that related to it, hoping that if his grace would represent it fully to the Lord Chancellor, his lordship would give such direc-

tions in it as that his courts might go on *to enforce the ecclesiastical censures with the civil penalties*, without fear of being baffled in their proceedings.

The great tenderness that he himself always shewed to particular persons under the sentence of excommunication, or liable to incur it (of which some instances have been already given), may acquit him, notwithstanding his zeal in this matter, of all other views than that of the public good; which he apprehended must unavoidably suffer by enervating discipline so much in *that only article*, wherein, by the aid of the temporal laws, it carries any terror in the eyes of the lawless.

Schools likewise, and schoolmasters, who were subject to his visitation, met with a due share of his consideration and care. This appeared as often as he undertook the examination and correction of such rules and orders (or, as they are sometimes called, statutes), as were drawn up by the feoffees, governors, or other managers, of the trust and revenues of *schools endowed*. He observed, that these rules were commonly drawn too strict, and consisted of too many, and some of them quite unnecessary particulars.

He thought the fewer and plainer they were, they stood a better chance of being kept to,

and doing the service intended by them. Some of his sentiments concerning the material points to be attended to in the regulation of schools are as follows, being extracted from his letters wrote on the said occasions.

I. He observed, that little good ever came of *free grammar schools, where the endowment was mean*. If they turned to any account, it was owing to a number of *foreign scholars*, who, not being entitled to the privilege, paid well for their learning. In all these foundations, therefore, the first thing to be looked at was the provision of a sufficient encouragement for the master, who ought to be a graduate in one of our universities. And if the salary appointed by the founder was not a competent and proper subsistence for him, it ought to be a rule that *none* should be received into the school, but whose parents and friends should *pay something* towards their teaching; provided such an imposition upon the inhabitants were consistent with the letters patent, charter, deed of endowment, or other act or instrument whatsoever, whereby the school was founded. For his own part, he did not see why this, generally speaking, might not be so, but the *lawyers being the best judges* of that, he left it to their determination.

II. Where it could be done, he judged three-pence a week, or three shillings and six-pence

the quarter, was as little as ought to be paid. Nor should more than that be paid by any that are free of the school, when they came to learn *Greek*. His reason was, because a greater price would be a temptation to the master to put his scholars into Greek before they were fit for it. But some of the poorest people might be exempted from this payment, and have their children taught gratis, though not above such a *fixed* number, and those put in from time to time by the governors, &c.

III. It ought to be likewise a rule, that none should be *received into a free grammar school*, but such as could *read English perfectly*, and were fit to *go into their accidence*. But, in case the master were obliged by the charter or endowment to receive scholars, to be taught reading, that it were fitting that an imposition were laid upon the inhabitants, if that could be legally done, to contribute, as before-mentioned, towards the master's better maintenance. The reason is, because he must take as much, if not more, pains, and spend more time upon *these readers*, than upon those that *learn grammar*.

IV. He was of opinion, it were better the school hours should be the same both in summer and winter, than differently appointed. That eight hours would sufficiently exercise both teacher and learner; that inconveniences follow

from beginning so early as six o'clock in the morning (unless an hour be allowed between six and eleven, for breakfast and relaxation), and especially to those that live at a distance from the school.

V. Morning and evening prayers in schools he much approved of, provided the *offices were very short, viz. two or three collects* out of the Liturgy, with a short prayer in the morning for God's blessing upon their endeavours (as *that, for instance, in the beginning of the common grammar*). And, in the evening, the *general thanksgiving*; each office to be concluded with the *Lord's prayer*, and a *blessing*, viz. in the morning, 2 Cor. xiii. 14; and in the evening, Numb. vi. 24, as it is applied in the end of the office of commination. If any thing more was at any time proper to be done, it was using the Litany and reading one select lesson out of the New Testament (as the 5th, 6th, and 7th of St. Matthew), to be chosen by the master, at the close of the week, or *Saturday noon*, when the master catechised.

VI. *The swearing* of masters to the observance of particular rules and orders, he *was absolutely against*; this he judged would serve to no great end, unless it were to raise scruples and perplexities every day in the mind [of the master, if he were of a tender conscience. On the

other hand, if he made little conscience of his actions, he might break his oath very often. Therefore, he would have the master's oath (if any were to be administered) put into *very general terms*, as that he would be faithful and careful to and for the good of the said school, in all things appertaining to his office and charge, according to the trust reposed in him.

These were the principal rules by which he amended, as there was occasion, the orders or statutes that were sent to him for his approbation and confirmation. And in the choice and appointment of schoolmasters, so far as he had any concern, he was very inquisitive and wary, *knowing the qualifications for that business* were sometimes mistaken, and *interest and friendship too often prevalent*; he thought that the capacity of an useful schoolmaster lay *more in his temper*, than *in his parts*, more in his taste, than in his learning, and most of all in his virtue and sobriety. That favour and friendships should always be postponed to these material considerations. The answer that he gave once to a person that desired his recommendation to a school, was in these frank words:—"It is not out of any mean opinion of your abilities, that I am averse to doing that which you desire of me. So far from that, I really take you to be a per-

son of extraordinary wit and parts, and I believe of very good learning, and I know you to be a singular good preacher; but I cannot satisfy myself that you will make a good schoolmaster, especially at such a school as that at If I am worthy to advise you, it should be *the last employment you should take*. For this reason, I have no mind to contribute any thing, either directly or indirectly, to the carrying on that project. I must also own ingenuously to you, that I do make a *little scruple of certifying for your sobriety*, because I have heard some stories that are not to your advantage that way. I hope they may be false; but, however, they would prevent at present my complying with your request, though I had no other reasons for declining to recommend you."

He was, indeed, upon all other occasions, very delicate and conscientious in the matter of *testimonials*.

And now, to pass over all his other episcopal acts of lesser moment, it may be time to give some account of a more material instance of the exercise of his authority, viz. in the visitation and *reformation of the collegiate church of Southwell*. And the rather, because he has not been a little censured since his death by some of the vicars choral of that church, who have fancied themselves injured and aggrieved, or prejudiced

in their legal rights, by the *injunctions* he gave on that occasion.

To understand the ground of their complaints, and the foundation and extent of the power he used in making the regulations which he did, some previous account ought to be given of the old constitution of that church before its dissolution, and of the alterations made therein at its reformation by Henry VIII.

Saint Mary, the Virgin, of Southwell, is supposed to have been founded by one of the first Archbishops of York, who accordingly have always been patrons of the church, as well as the lords of the manor there. The ancient government of it was by a certain number of *canons secular*, who lived in common together, till they were *converted into prebendaries*.

The number of these prebendaries, taking in those of later foundation, were, at the time of the dissolution, sixteen; with their sixteen *vicars choral*, and thirteen *chantry priests*. And the whole revenue of the Church was divided into five parts.

I. The commons, appropriated to so many of the prebendaries, as were also residentiaries.

II. The corps appropriated to the prebendal stalls.

III. Estates appropriated to the vicars choral, of which they had the management; *they being a*

corporation, and having *their* common seal. And a college with a common hall, where they lived.

IV. The chantry lands appropriated to the chantry priests (who had also a common house, where they lived), besides the particular endowments of the altars where they served.

V. “Our Lady’s lands;” estates so called, being appropriated to the fabric.

This was the old constitution. But, upon the surrender of the Church and all its lands into the hands of King Henry VIII. he refounded it, and made it *one body corporate*, by the name of the “*Chapter of Southwell.*”

So that all the vicar’s lands and chantry lands (which were yet in the Church) were laid in common with the chapter’s lands, and managed by them. It is true, the chantry lands and rents were afterwards seized by King Edward VI. and disposed of otherwise; but, in the reign of Queen Mary, the chapter recovered them all by law*; forasmuch, as at the refoundation, all

* Some particular rents were not looked after as they ought to have been at that time. One, for instance, of 20 marks per annum, charged upon Battersea estate, by Archbishop Booth, when he gave it to the see for maintaining two chantries, which he founded in Southwell, was given by King Edward, at the dissolution of chantries, to the school at Guildford, and never was recovered to the Church: Archbishop Sharp was sensible, that if every one had their right, the Chapter of Southwell

these chantry rents had been given or restored to the chapter.

It is likewise true, that the vicars choral did not thoroughly acquiesce in this new settlement by Henry VIII., claiming some right to lease the lands formerly appropriated to their college in their own names, or at least to join with the chapter in doing so, and of enjoying the *vicarage houses as their freehold*. And as some clauses or expressions in the act of foundation, which was by act of Parliament in the 35th of Henry VIII. did seem to favour their claims, this left room for some dispute, more or less, between the chapter and the vicars; and that dispute occasioned some variety of practice in letting of leases of the old vicars' lands; till the act of foundation was further explained, and the intention of it ascertained by the statutes of Queen Elizabeth, whose authority to grant those statutes, and by them finally to decide any disputes raised upon the wording or design of the act aforesaid, being founded *on a better bottom than the bare royal prerogative* will deserve in the next place to be considered.

By an act, 31st Henry VIII., *enabling* the king to make statutes for his new foundations,

ought to have this pension; but found no means of getting it restored to them, it having been so long appropriated to another use.

it is declared, that what he shall ordain by writing, under his great seal, shall be of as good strength, force, value, and effect, to all intents and purposes, as if it had been done by authority of Parliament.

But, as the statutes which were prepared in pursuance of these powers, *were not executed and delivered in due form*, and *thought invalid* through that error and defect, the same powers were renewed and given to Queen Mary (1st Mariæ, c. 9.), that she might make good the deficiency; but, she making no further use of these powers, than by setting forth the statutes of Durham church, the same were a second time renewed and given to Queen Elizabeth, in the first year also of her reign. How it happened, that she did so little towards establishing and rendering effectual the king's statutes, or else providing new ones in their room, is not material to enquire here; (some account of it will be found in Bishop Gibson's Codex, p. 206, and Strype's Life of Parker, p. 342.) It is enough to the present purpose, that she did, in pursuance and by virtue of these powers, granted her by Parliament, give commission to Archbishop Sandys, with other ecclesiastical commissioners for the diocese of York, to draw up statutes for Southwell, which she gave in the twenty-seventh year of her reign, under the broad seal, and in due

form, referring, for her authority, to the afore-said act in the first year of her reign; *juxta quendam Actum Parliamenti anno nostri regni primo.*

Now, by these statutes, all the lands and possessions belonging to the Church were vested in the chapter, and leases were to be granted *only by a certain number of prebendaries.* The number of vicars choral was reduced from sixteen to six, and the ancient pensions payable by the prebendaries, *quasi vicarii ante hac vel habuerunt vel vindicaverunt,* were restored to the vicars, yet not so fully, but that the Archbishop of York for the time being might *diminish them at discretion.* By these statutes, likewise, *the vicars' houses* in their college were allotted to them at the sole *discretion* of the archbishops*; or they were permitted to enjoy them only so long as the Archbishop did not appropriate them to other uses.

To these statutes, as decisive in all the points that had been before disputed, submission was paid, and the Church was afterwards wholly governed by them, at least in all matters pertaining to the right and property of the several

* Habeant vero dicti vicarii sibi cantoribus et choristis domos ad eosdem vicarios retroactis temporibus pertinentes nisi dictus Archiepiscopus quem visitatorem ecclesiæ constituimus aliter ordinaverit. Stat. Eccl. Southwell, c. 2. De Vicariis, &c.

members. But, as to the *matters of discipline*, the same care was not taken. And especially from the time of the great rebellion, a visible desuetude or neglect appeared of that order and regularity and decent observances which the statutes directed; though, at the same time, there were several worthy men members of that body, who wanted not inclination to have set every thing on its right bottom. How it came to pass that nothing was done, is of no consequence to enquire now. In this declining and disorderly state, Archbishop Sharp found this church when he came to the see; and to apply some remedy was one of the first things he took in hand upon his coming down into his diocese. In the spring of 1693, (May 8,) he came to Southwell, staying there three nights, and visited the chapter in form; and, in pursuance of that visitation, gave *injunctions*, as empowered by the statutes, concerning residence, prebendal houses, college of vicars choral, registry and grammar school, &c. By which the whole body was put under as good a regulation, as most ecclesiastical bodies in this kingdom. And although application was made to his successor, Archbishop Dawes, for a relaxation of some particulars relating to the vicarage-houses, and a petition lodged with Archbishop Blackbourn for a redress of what some of the vicars looked

upon as grievances or illegal restraints upon them, yet both these prelates have esteemed his regulations so proper, and his injunctions so wise, as to offer at no amendments or alterations in them. Nor will the service he did that church be easily forgot, so long as his *injunctions* remain upon the register of the chapter.

As to the suggestions of those vicars who complained that he had exceeded the limits of his power, they are groundless, because he assumed and exercised none but what were expressly invested in him by the statutes. And the infringement upon their ancient rights and privileges, if ever there were any made, was made by Archbishop Sandys, in giving his successors the liberty, by statute, of taking what order they pleased during their own lives, concerning the pensions and houses of the vicars. Nor is it easy to account how Archbishop Sandys should have taken this authority upon himself, otherwise than that he knew himself to be sufficiently warranted in what he did by Queen Elizabeth's commission to him, authorized by Parliament; and which was granted to him with more ample powers than had been ever exercised before (except in the church of Durham by Queen Mary's commissioners, who had the same parliamentary sanction to their acts),

in making and giving statutes to the cathedral and collegiate churches.

Thus much seemed necessary to say to vindicate him from some aspersions on this account, and from the charge of oppression or arbitrary doings, which the vicars, by carrying their *complaints of late years into Westminster Hall*, seemed to throw upon him; though it was some justification of him, that they could not obtain any hearing of their complaint there, but were remitted to their proper and local visitor, who hath not hitherto made any alteration, upon their remonstrance, in the forementioned injunctions given by Archbishop Sharp.

He was, in other respects, no ordinary *benefactor to this church*, as will appear from the two following singular instances.

I. King Edward VI. had settled a pension *in perpetuum*, for the support of a divinity lecturer, or afternoon preacher at Southwell; which pension had been regularly paid till the year 1641, but from thenceforward had been dropped. It is commonly thought difficult enough to obtain the revival of such a grant as this (after so many years intermission of payment), and the establishment of it for the future; how much more so to recover arrears? Yet he had a scheme that he thought would bear, and having asked as yet no favour of the crown (this was in 1692),

he conceived hopes of succeeding in it. He drew up a petition, in the name of the chapter, setting forth the settlement of ten pounds per annum by Edward VI. for the maintenance of a reader in divinity, in that large parish, with the reasons of it; and that the said pension had not been paid for fifty years, so that they humbly conceived there was an arrear of five hundred pounds due to them from the Crown on that account. Therefore, they most humbly requested of his Majesty, King William, to grant them an order for such a number of trees in his forest of Sherwood, not fit for the naval stores, as should amount to the value of five hundred pounds, out of which fund they might make a perpetual provision for a divinity lecturer, &c.

The answer he received to this was as follows.

“ Whitehall, Dec. 29, 1692.

“ My Lord,

“ I am to acquaint your Grace, from my Lord Godolphin, that the King is unwilling to grant the timber you desired for the church of Southwell, but his Majesty chooses rather to give the money. And thereupon I am to desire of your Grace the times and proportions by which the payments of the sum proposed will answer the end intended. And in this

your Grace will please to make it as easy to the King as the case will bear. For so the grant will, in all probability, be the more speedy and effectual, &c.

“NOTTINGHAM.”

It was afterwards concluded, that this payment should be made out of the tenths of the diocese of Lincoln; which it accordingly was in four years time. *And with this sum a stipend was established for a theological lecture, according to the first institution.*

II. When a great part of Southwell church was destroyed by fire occasioned by lightning in the year 1711, the repairing of which damage cost near three thousand pounds, he, by his own bounty and interest, raised almost the third part of that sum. *He gave himself two hundred pounds.* He procured a grant of license to cut down wood in the Queen's forest of Sherwood, from the Duke of Leeds, to the value of two hundred pounds; and from the Duchess of Newcastle, five hundred pounds, which last benefaction was obtained of her Grace by the following letter, which he wrote to her on that occasion.

“May it please your Grace,

“I am sensible it is a very unusual confidence in one who has not the honour so

much as to be known to your Grace, to presume to write to you about such an affair as I now do. But the post I am in, and the urgency of the occasion, together with the honourable thoughts I have of your Grace's goodness, will, I trust, so far apologize for me, as that I shall at least obtain your pardon for my boldness, if not (which I humbly hope) your gracious answer to my petition.

“ Your Grace, no doubt, has heard of the dismal accident that lately happened at Southwell, in Nottinghamshire, where the greatest part of the collegiate church was burnt by lightning.

“ Sure no Christian that has any concern for the honour of God, or his worship, can think that so ancient and useful a church ought to lie in ruins, but that all imaginable care should be taken for the restoring of it. This all the country, as well as we of the clergy, are desirous of.

“ But there is no other way to repair these ruins, but by the charitable contributions of well-disposed persons, especially of those who have concerns in the county where this church stands.

“ Now, it being the honour of Nottinghamshire, that your Grace has a near relation to them, they do presume that your Grace's goodness is such, that you will not be backward in

contributing to the rebuilding of Southwell church; and, at their desire, I have undertaken to lay this matter before you, and humbly to beg your assistance.

“ Indeed, madam, your encouragement of this good work, as it will be highly acceptable to the country, and much *tend to your honour*, so I doubt not but it will be very pleasing to God, and prove a means of obtaining his farther *blessings upon yourself and all your concerns*.

“ Madam, I heartily wish your Grace all happiness, both in this world and the other, and am, with the greatest respect,

“ Your Grace’s most faithful,

“ And most humble Servant,

“ JO. EBOR.”

“ *Bishopthorp, January 8, 1712.*”

When he came to London, which he did the latter end of the same month, the duchess sent her chaplain to him to know what he thought it was proper for her to give. But decency and his modesty would not suffer him to prescribe to her charity. So she herself determined upon the aforementioned sum; though she was disposed even to a larger benefaction, if he could have asked it of her, as Dr. Brailsford, the late Dean of Wells, who knew her mind on that occasion, was wont to declare.

Thus much being said of his visitation and reformation of the collegiate church of Southwell, and other services performed by him to its great advantage; it may not be improper to conclude this part of the work with an account of the most *memorable of his acts as an archbishop or metropolitan*. And that was his interposition and mediation of the differences between Dr. William Nicholson, the Bishop, and Dr. Francis Atterbury, the Dean of Carlisle; and the rather, because in this account, which shall be no further laid open than is necessary to shew what share he bore in accommodating matters between them, his own sentiments about the *king's ecclesiastical supremacy*, which was the sole ground of their dispute, will more fully appear.

In the year 1704, when Dr. Atterbury was nominated by the Queen to the deanery of Carlisle, a scruple arose in the breast of the bishop about the regularity of admitting him into that preferment. For, in his lordship's judgment, the doctor had, by some of his assertions which were published concerning the regal supremacy, incurred the censure of the second canon. The natural inference from which was, that without a retraction of those positions, at least before the bishop and his chapter, institution could not be canonically given him by them. However, his lordship, foreseeing the difficulties

that might be created upon this dispute with the doctor, when he should come down with the royal mandate, was so prudent as to apprise the Archbishop very early with his difficulty, and with his resolutions thereupon, viz. not to give institution; but withal expressing himself willing that the whole thing should be referred to him as metropolitan, first begging his private opinion and advice in the case, which he desired his Grace to signify either to himself or to Dr. Atterbury, which alone might possibly settle the controversy between them; but, if that could not be done, the *dernier resort* should be to his Grace's *sentence*; who should be final judge of all controversies between them. And thus the present matter in dispute would be brought to a legal and authoritative decision.

To this the Archbishop answered as follows.

“ August 28, 1704.

“ My Lord,

“ I have perused your last, and I have likewise several times read over those three or four pages you refer to in Dr. Atterbury's book. I must confess to you, whether it be my own dulness, or that I am naturally inclined to put a favourable construction upon an author's expressions, till I be warned that there is some ill meaning in them, that I might have read

those passages forty times over, and never have found out that the author of them, by any thing there said, was involved in the censure denounced in the second canon against those that deny the king's supremacy; for I should have reckoned, that the *second canon was only a clinching of the first*, by adding an ecclesiastical censure against those that set up a *foreign jurisdiction*, to the prejudice of the rights of the imperial crown of this realm (which Dr. Atterbury, I dare say, never thought of), as is set forth by that first canon.

“ I must confess further to you, that now that I see your objections against Dr. Atterbury's doctrine, I can see nothing that he hath asserted but what is capable of a fair construction. And though he may not have expressed himself so accurately as he might have done (and perhaps would have done, if he had had no other thing in his view but the king's supremacy, as it is taught in the first and second canon); yet even in this point he hath been guilty of no other slips but such as a candid reader would be inclined to pass by, without much censure, in most of the authors he reads, especially where they treat of a thing *ἐν πάρεργω*.

“ As for those consequences which your lordship insists upon as flowing from Dr. Atterbury's principles, I must in this also beg your

lordship's pardon, if I do not see how they can be charged upon any thing he hath said, unless with a little straining.

“ Doth he any where make such a distinction between the king's *personal* and *politic capacity*, as was made use of in the late times? Doth he any where say, that the *three estates* have a co-ordinate power with the king, or that they can do any thing without him? Doth he any where deny, that the king, whether in or out of Parliament, is ‘supreme governor in all causes, and over all persons, as well ecclesiastical as civil?’ Doth he any where affirm, that any of the estates, or any of the king's ministers, are invested with *original jurisdiction*, as your lordship expresses it? Nay, lastly, does he assert any thing in any of these four pages from which any of these assertions can necessarily be inferred?

“ Well, but he saith that *the king and the three estates* have more power in Church matters, than the *king alone*. *And is not this true?* No, saith your lordship, the king alone hath all Church powers; but, in some cases, *he cannot exercise it without the three estates*. Perhaps your lordship's way of expression is something better, and I fancy Dr. Atterbury would not scruple to express himself so, if there were occasion. But nevertheless, his expression is true enough, as

we ordinarily speak ; for a man *has no right further than he can lawfully exercise it.*

“ But Dr. Atterbury distinguishes between the absolute sovereign and the limited sovereign, making the *absolute* sovereignty to be lodged in the king, *in conjunction with the three estates.* I must own, that I do not see any great harm in this neither ; nay, though he should have said that the three estates are *sharers* with the king in the *absolute sovereignty* ; for hath it not been said an hundred times without offence, that the Lords and Commons have a share in the *Legislature* ? And if so, they have a share in the absolute sovereignty ; and then the king is not the absolute sovereign without them. And doth not the very style of the enacting clause, in every act of Parliament, imply such a thing ? ‘ Be it enacted, by the King’s most excellent Majesty, with the advice and consent of the Lords, &c. and by *the authority of the same,*’ &c. So that they are not *mere advisers*, but have *authority* in the making of laws. It is true, their authority signifies nothing without the king’s fiat. And, besides, what authority they have may be derived from the king entirely, for any thing that Dr. Atterbury insinuates to the contrary.

“ In short, my opinion is, that so long as Dr. Atterbury doth not set up any *foreign*

usurped jurisdiction over this realm, nor doth deny that the King or Queen of England is the *fountain of all lawful power* that is exercised in the same, as to my thinking, he doth neither of these things, he cannot be called to account for denying the king's supremacy, however he and your lordship may differ in the expressions about the exercise of this power.

“ Your lordship, I dare say, will pardon me for speaking my mind so freely in this business, and will likewise excuse me for the little regard I have had either to my choice of words, or method in what I have said. I have wrote just as things offered themselves. Indeed, neither my time nor my head will allow me to do more. And, which is worst of all, I doubt I am not so competent a master in this sort of knowledge as to be fit to offer any thing upon this argument to your lordship, or, if I do, to presume it will give you any satisfaction. But the hints I have given may tempt you to think more of this matter.

“ Indeed, I do heartily wish that your lordship could so satisfy yourself as to these objections you have raised, as that, without further expostulating the matter with Dr. Atterbury, you might give him institution when he comes down. Or, if that cannot be done, I could wish, that for the pulling this thorn out of your

foot, I at this time had your authority to give him institution before he reaches Carlisle. But yet I know not how that would look, sure I am it will be of very ill consequence, should you refuse him institution upon this pretence of the canon. What you do, I verily believe, out of conscience, the most will look upon as the effect of an old grudge; and, which is worst, I dare say you will find yourself at last to be in the wrong.

“ I am, with all sincere respect,

“ And hearty good wishes, &c.

“ JO. EBOR.”

His lordship, upon the receipt of this, returned answer, August 31, “ That being fully persuaded of his duty in this matter, he did not weigh consequences. That he was desirous enough to live in a friendly manner with the dean of his cathedral, and to avoid the scandal that a new breach betwixt them must occasion, but that he could not institute him unless he first *subscribed the following paper*, which was as favourably drawn up as he could contrive it.

“ I. The Queen of England, out of Parliament, hath not the same authority in causes ecclesiastical, that the Christian emperors had in the primitive Church.

“ II. The Church of England is under two

sovereigns, the one absolute and the other limited.

“ III. The supreme ecclesiastical jurisdiction, annexed to the imperial crown of this realm, can be exerted no otherwise than in Parliament.

“ These three propositions separating her Majesty’s authority from her person, and impeaching her royal supremacy, are erroneous, and contrary to the received doctrine of the Church of England, as well as the known laws of the realm; and therefore (so far as they or any of them are deducible from any thing that I have heretofore asserted and published), I do hereby openly and freely revoke and renounce the same.

“ For,” says his lordship, in his letter to the Archbishop, “ if the first of these propositions be true, the Queen is not supreme head of the Church in her personal capacity; since the having the same authority is the very definition which both the second canon and the 37th article gives of her supremacy. If the *second* be true, the *unicus gubernator supremus* in the first article, to be subscribed before institution, is nonsense. And if the last be law, an appeal to the Queen’s delegates (at least a commission of review afterwards), is very illegal Upon the whole, my Lord, if Mr. Dean consents not to this proposal, and your Grace thinks that he

may be honestly instituted without any such revocation, I humbly desire you will be pleased to admit him, and send your *metropolitica* mandate to the chapter for his instalment."

And this the Archbishop was very much inclined to do, knowing that Dr. Atterbury would never submit to have *new terms imposed upon him, which the law did not require him to comply with*; nor did he think the bishop had reason to insist upon them; and therefore would have made no scruple himself of giving the doctor institution at York. But he considered that the signification of the bishop's consent by letter, was not sufficient to empower him to perform this act; for that there ought to be an instrument of *remission* under the episcopal seal, by which the bishop should refer the whole affair to his metropolitan, and thereby give him authority to institute at York, and issue out his metropolitica mandate for such *Allation* by the chapter of Carlisle. On the other hand, when the bishop consented, in compliance with the Archbishop's own proposal, that the doctor should be instituted at York, he meant no more than that his Grace should determine this matter originally, and at the first instance, which otherwise was too likely to be brought *before him by way of appeal*. And this he apprehended a metropolitan might do, *consentiente ordinario*.

There was another method proposed, viz. that my lord of Carlisle should grant a commission under his episcopal seal to such persons as he thought proper to give institution at York; which was the method Archbishop Sancroft took*, when he made a scruple of consecrating Bishop Burnet, &c.; that is, he granted a *commission* to some other bishops to do it for him. But to this my lord answered, “ That it was first necessary *that a tender should be made to him* of her Majesty’s presentation, before any such commission could be regularly issued out. And besides, he thought it would look *too much like shuffling to grant a commission to others, to do an act for him, and by his authority, which he could not in conscience do personally.* And besides, he hoped that when the doctor brought his credentials, all their differences might be compromised between themselves. And moreover, he declared that he should not peremptorily insist upon the doctor’s revocation of the

* Archbishop Sancroft’s commission was to four bishops, London, Asaph, Winchester, and Llandaff. By virtue whereof, together with King William and Queen Mary’s letters commissional, they being assisted by the Bishops of Lincoln and Carlisle, consecrated Dr. Burnet to Salisbury, in the chapel at Fulham, March 31, 1689; and afterwards other bishops were consecrated, and other episcopal acts done by virtue of the said commission.

three propositions, if he could either convince him that they were not deducible from what he had published, or that they were reconeileable to the laws of the Church and State.

As soon as he had received this advice from the bishop, he dismissed the doctor on his journey to Carlisle; and immediately after wrote this friendly letter to his lordship.

“ *September 11, 1704.* ”

“ My Lord,

“ I had your's on Saturday. Dr. Atterbury is set out this morning for Carlisle, in order to wait upon you with his patent. I could wish, that *upon his tendering of it*, your lordship would either think fit to give him institution yourself, or delegate your authority to me *by way of remission*, if your lordship and he judge that a proper method. But if neither of these can be done, then I have this to beg of you, that you would at the first give him your *positive denial*, and not insist upon the *twenty-eight days*, which the canon gives you to deliberate about the matter; that so he may, without more loss of time, *make his appeal*. This I cannot but think reasonable, considering here is no dispute about the right of patronage; and you likewise know your own mind at the time he tenders you his patent what you mean to do,

as well as you will know at the end of twenty-eight days; so that all delay will look like pure unkindness.

“ I will not now meddle with the matter in difference between you, you have had my thoughts about it, and I have had your’s. But I must confess I am still of the opinion I was, viz. that Dr. Atterbury, in the 213th, 14th, 15th and 16th pages has asserted nothing derogatory to the Queen’s supremacy, as in our constitution, and by our laws it must be understood.

“ I find the Bishop of Sarum is perfectly of his mind. And so he has owned himself in that very book which he writ against Dr. Atterbury. I must confess I am entirely in the sentiments of that bishop, when he declares thus. ‘ I always thought that the king was no other way head of the Church, than as he was the head of the State, with whom the executive power is lodged. And who is the head of the legislative, in *conjunction* with the great body of his Parliament.’

“ And this is exactly the doctor’s doctrine.

“ But I have forgot what I just now said, that I would not enter into the merits. But now that I have broke my word, give me leave to say a little more.

“ Of the three propositions which you would have the doctor to renounce, the first I take to

be undoubtedly true. The second is not his, but, with a little alteration, may be made his, viz. if it run thus. The Church of England is under a sovereign, who, with his Parliament, is absolute, but *without it is limited*. And this I take to be likewise undoubtedly true. The third proposition seems to be foreign to the present business, nor do I see how the doctor is concerned in it. Yet I take it to be as true as the other two, if the legislative be the supreme jurisdiction, as when one makes degrees of comparison in jurisdiction, it must be acknowledged to be.

“ Good my Lord, forgive my zeal in this business. I profess I have no ends to serve, but those of peace, and to prevent, if I can, a rupture; which I am afraid will be prejudicial to yourself; and not only so, but if it be not stifled in the beginning, may be the occasion of a *new quarrel in this Church, of which we have too many already amongst us*.

“ I pray God direct you, and assure yourself of me that I am always

“ Your true friend, and brother,

“ And servant,

“ JO. EBOR.”

He had no occasion to mediate any further in this affair; for, upon the doctor's refusing to

subscribe the revocation, as being *unprecedented*, and, upon the bishop refusing thereupon to give him institution, both sent up their accounts of the matter, and their own reasons for what they did, to the *Secretaries of State*, the Bishop to Secretary Hodges, the doctor to Secretary Harley; by whom the affair was laid before the Queen. And her Majesty was pleased finally to determine it by *the actual exercise of her supremacy*; but withal ordered one of her secretaries to acquaint the Archbishop that she was pleased with all the steps that he had before taken in that matter.

There was another accidental difficulty arose in this business, and threatened more disputes with the dean from the bishop and chapter, had not the Archbishop given a seasonable solution to it. It seems, after Dr. Atterbury's patent had passed the seals, the *Lord Keeper* started a doubt about the legality of a clause in it which expressed the deanery of Carlisle *to be vacant per translationem* of Dr. Grahme to the deanery of Wells; whereas his lordship observed, that a translation to a second deanery did not make the first void, without a resignation, two deaneries being no more incompatible than two archdeaconries.

Dr. Atterbury, upon this, consulted precedents in the signet-office, and found that the

Crown grants had usually ran so in the like circumstances. As particularly when Dr. Sharp succeeded Dr. Tillotson, who was removed from the deanery of Canterbury to the deanery of St. Paul's, and Dr. Fairfax succeeded Dr. Sharp at Norwich. And believing, that if it was a blot, it had never been hit since the Reformation but in the present instance, and that *the consequences it might draw after it* in relation to leases signed by deans made by patents so worded, would demand the most favourable construction to be put upon it, he made no great scruple of it himself, and was accordingly instituted and inducted upon his first patent.

But afterwards taking further advice upon this point, and apprehending his bishop and the chapter of Carlisle might *take all advantages against him*, he obtained a resignation in form from Dr. Grahme, and had his patent passed the great seal a second time by warrant from the Queen, after the date was so adjusted, that *the resignation might precede the grant, and the grant precede the institution.*

However the bishop and the chapter, when they understood the exception that had been made to the first patent, on which he had been admitted dean, were inclinable to dispute the validity of his possession ; and the bishop wrote their doubts about it to the Archbishop, who

answered, that what thoughts soever they might have of disputing that point with the dean, yet, if they would give him leave to speak his own thoughts of the matter, he believed, if they did; they would be in the wrong “ For,” says he, “let the patent upon which he was instituted have been never so faulty, yet he having been instituted and inducted upon it, he is, to all intents and purposes, the legal Dean of Carlisle, till he *be legally ejected, and another put in* by a new grant from the Crown; so that he could not tell what need the dean had to get his patent new dated, unless it were to prevent the granting a new patent to any other person, while he kept the deanery, which is the only thing that by this means he hath *effectually done.*”

From these letters just now recited, wherein he declares himself upon the nature of the king's supremacy, according to the English constitution (which indeed was the *chief reason* why any account was given of this affair at Carlisle), a transition is very natural to *his political principles and sentiments*. Which, together with his more public transactions in the affairs of State and common interests of the Church, shall be considered separately and distinctly in the third part of the work.

PART III.

CONTAINING HIS MORE PUBLIC TRANSACTIONS
IN CHURCH AND STATE.

HITHERTO Dr. Sharp has been considered purely in his *ecclesiastical* or episcopal capacity; and it would be judged a great omission, if a summary account were not likewise given of his behaviour at *Court and in Parliament*, during so many years attendance on both; especially since the zeal of contending parties hath been apt to disguise men's *real characters*, and either give them credit and esteem, or bring them under slanders and evil surmises, according as their conduct seemed to favour the respective principles and interests of this or that side. His situation was something singular, at least for many years in which he served the late queen; he had constant and free access to her person, and was presumed to *have no small share of her confidence* and favour during her whole administration, under the conduct of different sets of ministers, of different attachments, excepting the last year of her reign, in which he was rendered incapable, through indisposi-

tion, of attending her*. And being considered in this point of view, as it was impossible for him to escape the remarks of a world divided in its sentiments of the public interests, so he would necessarily incur *as much censure on the one hand, as he gave satisfaction on the other.* Yet so guarded and moderate was his conduct on the whole, and such was the good opinion that men generally conceived of him, that his public character was as little struck at, and himself as universally esteemed, as could be expected in those circumstances, and in an age when the animosities of party ran so high, and spared so few.

Bishop Burnet, in his *history* of those times, speaking of the promotion of Dr. Tillotson and Dr. Sharp at the same juncture, to the two archiepiscopal sees, having acknowledged their talents as *divines*, distinguishes upon their *civil characters* in this manner, *only Sharp did not know the world so well, nor was he so steady as Tillotson was.*

As his lordship neither gives any further explanation of this remark, nor produces any instances throughout his whole history to support it, we are left at some uncertainty what construction to put upon it, seeing *it is capable of a more or less favourable sense*, as the reader

* He took his last leave of the Queen May 10, 1713, and died the February following. Queen Anne died August 1, 1714.

shall be disposed to interpret it. If it be meant that he did not understand mankind well enough to prevent their deluding him, or that either through the weakness of his judgment, or easiness of his temper, he was liable to be practised upon; whatever reasons the bishop might have to induce him to take up this opinion, yet they who knew the Archbishop perfectly, will be apt to judge *that the historian knew him not*; and that how skilful soever he might be in drawing characters, he missed the point in this particular instance.

But if his lordship only meant (and considering his style, it is the most natural to think he meant no more,) that Dr. Sharp *was not thoroughly versed in the policies of the court, nor absolutely attached to a party*, there is great justice and *truth in the remark*. And though it might perhaps, in the learned historian's view of things, *even under this light*, derogate from his character, so far at least as he is represented upon the comparison *inferior* to Archbishop Tillotson in those respects, yet all people have not the same ways of thinking. It will serve rather to increase than lessen his reputation with others, who are likewise capable judges both of *men and things*; and discerning enough in this case to see what was the most *becoming* his function and station.

Without entering into any part of Dr. Tillotson's character, whose memory is generally and most deservedly esteemed, let the just part be done to Dr. Sharp's, concerning the distinction made between them.

He was, as is confessed on all hands, *a plain-dealing man*; one who neither disguised his sentiments on any occasion, nor feared at any time to take the liberty of following his own judgment. He was so great a stranger himself to *wile and dissimulation*, that he might be rather *too slow* in discerning it, and *too backward in suspecting it in others*; for which reason he was not perhaps so skilful as some others are in penetrating into the intention of an intricate conduct, or shrewd in discovering men's designs at a distance, not for want of good natural discernment, but for want of that *acquired sagacity* which is only to be attained by long *observation and study on the dark and shadowed, the concealed and disagreeable side of human nature*. He studied mankind more as a *divine* than as a *statesman*, and had a much clearer and quicker apprehension of what men *ought to be*, than what they *really were*, or might prove. If he sometimes judged wrong of particular persons, it was owing to a generous motive (which was the effect of the natural openness and honesty of his own heart), that he cared not to be jealous

and mistrustful of those with whom he conversed. This would indeed have been a disadvantage to him in an intriguing world, had he not withal been master of so much prudence as to prevent his taking *too much* upon trust, and to secure him from being *injured* by any abuses of his goodness; and *helped by intriguing*, he would have disdained to be.

How far therefore he was a politician or courtier, is not so easy to say, as it is that he did not *affect* the character of being so in any sense, nor aim at any reputation of skill in things that were out of his profession. Whatever *he might know of the world*, yet he was never forward to tell the world all that he knew of it; which is too much the temper of some *who value* themselves upon such knowledge. He was not given to *talk much of state affairs*, or deliver his judgment upon them, nor indeed did he seem to meddle with them farther than he was bound in discharge of the duty he owed to the crown and his country.

The affairs of the Church of England were the things that lay at his heart. In these he interested himself deeply and zealously. He looked upon himself in that post which no *intriguing had obtained to him*, but Providence had allotted him to be one of her chief pillars, and was resolved to support her with all his might. And the

plainer man he was in himself, the less he regarded the world, and the less tincture he took from the court in which he conversed, the better was he fitted for this service. He *gained more credit* and interest to himself and the cause in which he was engaged *by his native air of probity and openness* in his whole conduct, than he could have done, had he studied and practised the arts and refinements of the subtlest politicians, or admitted the least mixture of chicane into his address.

But as all men, at least all who are worthy of the public notice, are commonly reputed and voted by the world to be either of this or that *party*, so was he, how much soever he disliked those mischievous distinctions that kept up the animosities and jealousies of a divided people. They who were *called the Tories*, or the High Church party, *claimed him* as theirs; for he was observed more generally to approve and favour their principles, and to go more along with them, than those of the other side. But whatever he might be reputed by the world, yet this may be as truly said of him as of any man who was his contemporary, that he was a fast friend to the Constitution both in Church and State. In this *he was "steady*;"* and did both heartily

* Allusive to Bishop Burnet's comminative comparison of Sharp to Tillotson, p. 252.

espouse whatever he thought conduced to its preservation and security, and constantly oppose what in his judgment tended to innovation and alteration in it. But when the main point was secured, he was not solicitous about party contentions, for he looked upon them, as he often declared, "*to be mere struggles who should be uppermost.*" Nor did he seem, as will be hereafter shewn, in several instances, to change or vary in his sentiments, either of things or persons, though others were pleased to change their sentiments of him, as this or that party happened to be "uppermost." And from hence the reflection of *his not being steady* might possibly take its rise.

"*To be on the side (as he said) of the established government, and to endeavour to maintain that, was not to be a favourer of parties and factions, but that they were the factious, they were the setters up and abettors of parties, who endeavoured to destroy, or unsettle, or disparage, or in the least to hurt and weaken the government and the laws as they are established; let the principles upon which they went, or the pretences they made, be what they would.*" And he adhered to this principle of preserving the constitution, and pursued this rule of attachment to the establishment with such steadiness and uniformity, that neither the influence of private friendships, nor the entreaties of the

party that claimed him, nor the persuasions of the ministry, nor even the personal applications of his royal sovereign, were of weight and force enough to engage him in any thing that in his own judgment did not well consist with this principle.

And here we see the whole compass of his politics. But as so short and general an account of them will avail little towards vindicating his character from party suggestions, and clearing him of those unjust suspicions which some were pleased to entertain concerning him, it is requisite to be something more particular upon this head, and to make use of all the light that either his diary, or any other testimonies to be met with at this distance of time, can throw in upon this part of his character; and to shew that he followed no scheme but the good of his country, was in no interest but that of the constitution, and *was a fast friend to the act of settlement upon the House of Hanover.*

It may not be amiss to observe, in the first place, how careful he was to avoid all approaches to politics or party concernments in his sermons. He judged the pulpit to be of all places the most improper for the publication or even suggestion of men's private sentiments concerning public affairs or state matters. Much less could he bear to have the doctrines of

Christianity give place to a laboured descant upon civil government, princes, and administrations. So far indeed as *subjection to the higher powers, praying for those that are in authority, and preserving peace and unity*, were Gospel duties, and of an obligation distinct from that of national laws, so far he urged and insisted upon them, on all proper occasions, and charged them upon men's consciences. But even when he did this, he always took care to let his audience understand that he was acting within his own province and sphere as a divine, least he should be thought to be influenced by any civil considerations, while he was laying down the common duties of Christianity. Thus when he opposed himself to *that separation from the established Church*, which was made at the Revolution, when it was pretended by some that they could not join in prayers for their Majesties, he introduces his consideration of that point with these words.

“With men's differences as to their notions about the politics, I am not concerned. Let them frame what hypotheses they please about government, though I do *not like them*, yet I do not think myself bound to *preach against them*. But when these differences are come to that pass, that they threaten both the civil and ecclesiastical peace, there I think no minister

should be silent." And then he proceeds upon Christian principles to argue against schism and Church divisions; and shews how unreasonable the pretence was, which was laid hold of after the happy Revolution. And so again upon another and more remarkable occasion, viz. before the House of Lords, in a sermon which was afterwards appealed to and quoted by both sides in the trial of Dr. Sacheverell; though the discourse was professedly as the occasion required, upon the duty of subjects to their civil governors, yet he took care first to establish his own right to speak to *that point* in the pulpit, and to answer all the objections which are usually made to the clergy when they handle that subject. And then he took care to speak to it purely as a *Christian duty*, and to distinguish it from all questions of law, which he professed he would not concern himself about.

"In all those instances (says he) wherein this argument falls under the cognizance and determination of Parliaments, or judges, or lawyers, we do not pretend to meddle with it. We meddle not with the politics, we meddle not with prerogative or property; we meddle not with the disputes and controversies of law that may arise about these matters, but preach a company of plain lessons of peaceableness, &c. . . . Such as will at this day hold in all the

governments in the world, whether they be kingdoms or commonwealths.*”

Nor is there to be observed in any other of his occasional sermons upon fast and thanksgiving days, nor even at the solemnity of the late queen's coronation, any thing further said of the then present state of the nation, than was necessary to answer the ends of the appointment of sermons on those days. So careful was he to shun the *appearance of a party man in the pulpit*. For how zealously soever he might in his civil capacity espouse, or oppose, what was as yet in agitation and debate, yet he could not endure to have the *Cathedra Christi* made the stage of contention. He was grieved to see it prostituted to the venting of private resentments, or publishing reflections against governors and administrations, and thought the dignity of it debased, even when it was used to a more excusable and plausible purpose, viz. for the pronouncing panegyrics upon crowned heads, and attempting vindications of their political counsels, although the characters drawn by the preacher were ever so just, or his allegations in defence and honour of their government and administration ever so true. For besides the impropriety of entering upon topics quite

* Archbishop Sharp's Sermons, Vol. II. p. 47. 49.

foreign to the business of the ministers of Christ; even upon a foot of discretion and prudence, such digressions are hardly to be justified. For it always looks like an imputation of weakness in a government, to suppose it should stand in need of such public suffrages and encomiums of the clergy; and it argues weakness in the man who gives his voice for it *in this way*, if he supposes that he can hereby do real service to the public, and something more than weakness, if he designs no more by it than to recommend himself to the favour of the reigning party.

And this should be considered as the reason why he never enlarged even upon so great a topic as the Revolution in his sermons, although the occasions were likewise such that he could not be wholly silent about it, as may be seen in his fast sermon, May 21, 1690; and his thanksgiving sermon before the House of Peers, November 5, 1691; and before their Majesties, November 12, 1693; and at the coronation of Queen Anne; in which, though he delivered himself briefly upon the matter, yet what he said was full and home, and as much as he judged consistent with the liberty that a preacher ought to take on such occasions.

And yet no man was more sensible of the happy effects of the *Revolution*, both as to Church and State, than he was; *no man came more*

heartily into it. Nor did he barely acquiesce in the being satisfied with it, but did as much contribute as was in his power to recommend, support, and perpetuate the establishment upon the foot on which it was then settled.

When he first went down to his diocese, he found the minds of several, both of laity and clergy, perplexed about the Revolution; and some of them alienated from their Majesties. And he was as willing as he was able to give every one the satisfaction they desired, when they applied themselves to him; as some did by letter, others in person. He had cases of conscience put to him about the lawfulness of taking the oaths to the government after the Revolution. By his answer to one of these cases, his sentiments will appear. The question was, *How a person who had sworn allegiance to King James, could with a good conscience take the same oath to King William?* To which he answers directly, “That the laws of the land are the only rule of our conscience in this matter, and we are no further bound to pay obedience to governors*, nor to any other governors *than*

* The sense here is a little obscured by the shortness of the expression. The meaning is, *we are no further bound to pay obedience to governors* (viz. with regard to the extent of our obedience) *than the laws enjoin.* And *we are no further bound to pay obedience to any as our governors* (viz. with respect to the persons who are the proper objects of it), *than the laws enjoin!*

the laws enjoin. If therefore King William, in the eye of the law, be our king, we must in conscience pay obedience to him as such. I take this (says he) for a certain truth, that as the law makes the king, so the same law extends, or limits, or transfers our obedience and allegiance; and all oaths imposed by the law oblige the conscience no further than the law meant they should oblige; only this is always to be remembered, that whatever obedience the laws of the land require of us, it is to be understood with this proviso, that it be not contradictory to the laws of God. But in that case we must obey passively, though we cannot obey actively. And with this tacit condition I do suppose all oaths of fidelity in the world are given and taken."

It is true, he had a very great tenderness and pity for all those who could not satisfy their consciences in this point, after taking advice, and using the best means of information. His inclinations were always to relieve such, and not to distress them. But if he found there was any thing of humour or obstinacy in their case, he would then use what authority he had over them. Thus, having been informed that some few of his clergy had been remiss in the observation of the *monthly fasts*, and reading the *occasional prayers*, and had likewise ex-

pressed some disaffection to the government; he reprimanded them publicly at his visitation (in 1693), telling them, "How unaccountable a thing it was, that any person who had already taken an oath of allegiance to their present Majesties, should refuse to pray for them, especially in such a cause, where, if they had any kindness or regard either to their religion, or to the nation, or to their own private interests, they could not but wish well to it, though they had taken no such oath. That as for those, whether clergy or others, who were dissatisfied upon pure principles of conscience, and behaved themselves modestly and peaceably, keeping their sentiments to themselves, and giving no disturbance to the public, he had as hearty a tenderness and compassion for all such as was possible. But as for those who had given testimony that it was not against their conscience to own the present government, and who had solemnly *obliged themselves by oath to live dutifully under it*, yet, out of a factious or petulant humour, would take all the occasions they could of running it down, he thought their case was widely different from that of the former, and that they ought to be animadverted upon. And, for his own part, so far as any of their offences of this kind fell under his cognizance, he should think himself obliged to take notice of them."

And again, in 1698, after the king had concluded the peace, he took occasion publicly to congratulate the clergy of his diocese, "That their circumstances were altered so much for the better since their last meeting. The nation (said he) was then embroiled in a dangerous and expensive war. That war, through the blessing of God upon his Majesty's conduct, is now brought to a happy issue by the establishment of an honourable, and, we trust, a lasting peace. I hope we are all sensible as we ought to be, of this great blessing, and that it will have such effects upon us as it naturally calls for. One of those effects certainly ought to be, the treating the discontents, and removing the prejudices and animosities (if there be any such left in men's minds), against the present government; and the knitting together the hearts of all the people of this nation in the firmest bonds of affection, and duty, and allegiance to his Majesty. Sure it is hard, that when he is owned the lawful King of Great Britain by all the crowned heads and states of Christendom, there should yet be found any in his own dominions that are not in his interests."

When the *oath of abjuration* was under debate in the House of Commons, and it was made a question whether it should be proposed as an oath to be taken voluntarily, and at mere dis-

cretion, or imposed upon all by a general rule ; some of the members (who were not well pleased with the oath, and chose rather to decline it than take it) thought it more eligible to have it enjoined by public authority, and enacted by law, than offered as a voluntary thing to be taken or let alone at the discretion of each person : apprehending that the sanction of the parliament would supersede all private scruples about it. And when a certain member suggested to the Archbishop as his own private reason for voting the imposition of the oath upon all in general, “ *that what he could not easily do, if left purely to his own choice, he could do without difficulty if he were commanded :*” to this his Grace answered, “ that whatever effect this argument might have upon others who were not members of parliament, yet in you that are one, it is false reasoning. For your voting that the oath should be imposed, makes it as voluntary in you as if it were made voluntary in the act. And besides, (says he) I think you are altogether mistaken in your distinction of voluntary oaths, and those that are required by law as you apply it : for I do think as no law can oblige you in conscience to take any oath but what upon just reasons you may voluntarily take, so on the other side no law can screen your conscience in taking an ill oath, any more than private considerations will.”

He was also very instrumental in removing the difficulties which others had conceived with respect to this oath. Some of great note in the House of Peers seemed to refer themselves entirely to his judgment in this matter; not so much upon the belief of his being an indulgent casuist, as of his being a *faithful one*. He did good service to his friends in this way, and was heartily thanked by them for it afterwards. He was likewise very serviceable in bringing back to the communion of the church those who had separated from her since the Revolution, though at the same time they were not to be persuaded to take the oaths. And he was the man who advised and prevailed upon Dr. Higden to publish his *View of the English Constitution, so far as regards the taking oaths to government*, it having been first read over to him and approved. And yet what trifling incidents will serve for party insinuations: *he was suspected by some to be a favourer of the Jacobites*, and their principles, and for no other reason, but because he did not quite drop his acquaintance with, and conceal his compassion for some, who declared that oath was against their consciences. My Lord W—n in the House of Peers, upon the debate concerning the church being in danger, in Dec. 1705, took notice *that a certain noble Lord of that house had educated his sons at a seminary kept by a non-*

juror. The Archbishop, who perceived himself was pointed at, declared that although he had sent both his sons to Mr. Ellis's school, who was a sober virtuous man, and a man of letters, yet he had qualified himself according to the laws when they were sent to him. But that as soon as he was informed that Mr. Ellis had refused to take the oaths he immediately took away his son, who then only remained with him, and removed him to another and unexceptionable place. And this was above three years before the complaint was made in the House of Peers; and was rather an instance of his dislike of those principles he was charged of abetting. Whereas others chose rather to run the hazard of such unreasonable censures and reflections than forego the advantages of so flourishing a school, and such an able instructor of their children. Thus did several persons of note and distinction, and without being thought inclinable to jacobitism, as may be presumed for so doing.

As to his satisfaction in the Act of Settlement, and affection towards the house of Hanover, there never were the least grounds to doubt or suspect them. He indeed opposed the motion that was made by Lord Haversham in the House of Peers, Nov. 15, 1705, to invite over the Princess Sophia; and not only so, but took all opportunities of declaring against it, as will be seen when we come to consider his conduct in parliament. But least any

misinterpretations should be made at the court of Hanover, of his zeal in this matter, he took an opportunity (before it came to be agitated in parliament, for it was intimated the year before) by Dr. Hutton, then at Hanover, of repeating to her Highness the Electress, assurances of his integrity with respect to her interests in this kingdom. And how perfectly well satisfied her Highness was in his inclinations towards her, may appear from her instructions given in answer to Dr. Hutton on this occasion. The Doctor's letter is as follows.

“ Hanover, Oct. 16—27, 1705.

“ My Lord,

“ I performed your Grace's desire to the Electress, and at the same time told Her Royal Highness how much you have on all occasions declared yourself a steady friend to her, and her illustrious family, on the subject of the succession. She bid me tell you, she knows you very well her fast friend, and is satisfied of the proof your Grace hath given her.

“ Her grandson's marriage hath been performed with great joy. His young princess, who refused to be the Queen of Spain to preserve her religion, is one of the best accomplished persons of her sex and quality in the world. She is a blessing to this family, and may prove the

same in time to England and to the Protestant religion.

“Your Grace knows the Elector’s character very well. He makes his subjects easy by distributing justice and equity to all sorts of men. He is a prince of nice virtue, and keeps his word to a punctilio : so that he hath an entire credit with all his allies, as well as with all others with whom he hath any business. He hath given many proofs of his courage and conduct in the camp (as he hath served in fifteen campaigns) as well as in the closet.

“Her Royal Highness the Electress is in perfect good health. She wonders at a groundless story that was whispered about in London last year, by which some were made to believe that although the Queen and Parliament should invite her to England, yet she would not come. Her judgment on that subject, as well as on all others, seems to be well grounded. For she thinks that *her Majesty and the Parliament know best what is most proper for their own safety.* Her Royal Highness says she is here in quiet and hath all that this world can give her in her own house ; and is very sensible that her sex and age will not allow her to be so useful to the public as she could wish

“Yet notwithstanding, if the Queen and Parliament in their great wisdom, think it necessary

for the good of Europe and the preservation of your constitution in church and state, to have her as presumptive heir in the kingdom; she is willing to comply with what they shall think fit; and seems very willing to employ the remainder of her life for the Queen's safety, and the people's satisfaction. This she thinks by God's providence may *prevent a convulsion in those kingdoms, and preserve them from Popery and a French government, and establish the succession in the Protestant line.*

“ Their Electoral Highnesses have all the esteem and honour for the Queen that is possible, and do all they can to keep up a good understanding between her court and their own. They pray for her Majesty's long life and prosperity in particular, as well as in all their churches: to which I have been witness, although it was disputed at London but last year.

“ I continue with respect, My Lord,

“ Your Grace's most faithful

“ Humble Servant,

“ Jo. HUTTON.”

There had passed before this time some compliments and letters between her Electoral Highness and the Archbishop. Their correspondence having begun soon after the late

Queen's accession, upon occasion of his presenting her Highness with his coronation sermon. There was indeed an odd circumstance attending this first piece of respect from him, owing partly to unusual inadvertency in himself, and partly to the dexterity and dispatch of the bearer of it, viz. that this sermon was transmitted to the princess by the hands of Mr. John Toland*, which, though in reality an accidental thing, yet might have proved unlucky in its interpretation to the Archbishop's character. The Bishop of Sarum, whom nothing could escape, laid hold of it, not indeed more severely than the thing seemed *primâ facie* to deserve. But it either was not believed when reported, or his credit was too well established to suffer by it, though, as the prelate just now named said upon it, "*Had any of us done so, how should we have been talked of.*"

But the true account of this whole matter appears in his diary, minuted by himself at the time when the accident happened, and while every circumstance of it was yet fresh in his memory.

"While I was making up my list of persons to whom I should present my coronation sermon, my servant came up, and acquainted me that one from Sir Robert Clayton and his lady was below. I ordered the man should be brought

* The "Free Thinker" and Infidel Author.

up. After he had presented Sir Robert's and my lady's service to me, he asked me whether I had not received a book yesterday, which was sent me, viz. '*Mr. Toland's defence of himself.*' I told him '*I had.*' He then told me that '*he was the man*' (for I had never seen him before). Upon this we fell a talking about his books and principles. I dealt very freely with him as to both. He owned *he had been to blame*; and that *he had begun to write very young, before he rightly understood things*. He promised he would trouble the world no more about those matters. As for the charge of his denying the Trinity, he declared that *he was so far from that, that he would subscribe all the doctrinal articles of the Church of England*. I asked him whether *he would subscribe the first article* (that which declares the Trinity), *alone*. He answered, '*Yes, ex animo.*' I told him, I would, as I had occasion, do him right as to that matter. But I said, he had, by his books and carriage, given so great offence to the Church of England, that he could never expect but endeavours would be used to censure him. He told me, upon that, *he did not mean to stay here, for he was going very suddenly to the Princess Sophia of Hanover*. He then told me, that the last time he was there he presented her with one of my sermons, and one of Dr. Tillotson's about the *government of the tongue* (as mine was about the

government of the thoughts), and that he now meant to buy one of my coronation sermons, and present it to her. I told him, he should not need to buy one, for I would send her one; and that when my sermon came out, I would send one for my Lady Clayton, and therewith one for the princess; which accordingly I did the next day. This I think was on Thursday. But when I came to reflect on this act of mine, which was occasioned by my sudden promise to him, not thinking what I did, I very well saw what prejudice it might do me. And thereupon resolved to get this sermon into my hands again, if it was possible; and accordingly, on Saturday morning, I took coach, and went to my Lady Clayton's, and begged of her to let me have that sermon again; or, if Mr. Toland already had it, that she would command it from him. But, unfortunately for me, she told me that Mr. Toland that very day on which she had received the sermon, had got his for the princess; and the wind proving favourable (which it had not been for a fortnight before), he had that very night set sail for Holland, in order to go to Hanover. So that it was impossible to retrieve my sermon. This is a faithful account in short of that business."

He received, however, some months after, from the Electress, a letter of thanks for his sermon, with many obliging expressions in it;

which gave him an acceptable opportunity of addressing her highness by letter, and signifying his satisfaction in the prospect of her illustrious house succeeding to the crown of these realms.

“ York, September 4, 1702.

“ Madam,

“ I was struck with astonishment to see your electoral highness’s name to a letter which I lately received, and much more so, when I had read the contents of it. It was great presumption in one to offer so mean a thing as my sermon to so great a princess ; and your pardon for it was all I could expect. But that your electoral highness should vouchsafe me a letter of thanks for it, and that so extremely gracious a one, this was a favour as much beyond my hopes, as it was above my merits. But thus you charm all the world with your condescending goodness.

“ It is out of my power to express the grateful sense I have of this surprising obligation ; as it is also to make any returns for it, other than those of my prayers. But these I shall never cease to put up to the throne of grace for your electoral highness and your princely issue ; that God would multiply his blessings upon you both spiritual and temporal, and preserve you for the support, and welfare, and happiness of this

Church and kingdom. I am, Madam, with sincerest esteem, affection, and duty,

“ Your electoral highness’s

“ Most obliged, most humble,

“ And most faithful servant,

“ JO. EBOR.

After this a correspondence was kept open for some years between the Electress and the Archbishop, of which Mr. Bagnall’s letter is the next voucher. He returned from Hanover with a compliment from her highness in 1704. But not finding the Archbishop in London, he wrote his instructions as follows.

“ *London, June 13, 1704.*

“ My Lord,

“ When I left the Court of Hanover, which was about six weeks since, and whither I went as chaplain to Mr. Poley. Her electoral highness was pleased to command me to wait upon your grace, and, if I mistake not her very words (which I think I do not), ‘*to give you her service.*’ She would have returned by me an answer to your lordship’s letter in favour of your kinsman, Mr. Cholmondley (and which he did not receive till after his arrival at Berlin, from whence he transmitted it to her highness), but my sudden departure from thence would

not afford her an opportunity. I can only add, that she spoke of your grace with a particular esteem and respect. When your grace shall think fit to write to her electoral highness, I would humbly beg the favour that you would vouchsafe to acquaint her, that I had signified her pleasure to you, and to present my most humble duty and service."

The rest of Mr. Bagnall's letter is upon a quite different affair.

They who are inclined to suspect that the Archbishop, towards the latter end of his life, and after the great change made by the Queen in her ministry, dropped his good inclinations to the House of Hanover, and directed his wishes, if not also his counsels, to another quarter, ought to have some good grounds for *their suspicion*; which to them who intimately knew his sentiments and conversation, cannot but seem very unaccountable.

His alienation from the interests he had so long espoused (unless he be also supposed to have been acting a part from the beginning, a supposition the most incompatible with his general character that is possible), must have appeared in some instances or other too notorious to have been kept a secret to this time. And yet he never was charged, at least not openly so, as to give any opportunity of vindi-

cating him, with any *one action* or *saying* that could 'give the least umbrage of any change in his sentiments concerning the succession to the crown.

It is hard to know what kind of evidence to object against unsupported and wanton surmise; and much harder to guess what degree of evidence may be necessary to overcome the prejudices of party. Whereas there would be little difficulty in clearing up any particular fact or counsels, if any such were or could be charged upon him. In the meantime, such loose and general imputations, however disadvantageous or injurious to his memory, with those who are disposed to relish them, must be left to their own weight, to take their chance in the balance against his more known and established character of steadiness and sincerity, both in his practices and principles.

There was indeed an affair in which he most interested himself in the latter end of the Queen's reign, which, if all the papers relating to it had been preserved, or could have been recovered, might have been very serviceable towards obviating any suggestions of this kind. But though a perfect account of the share he bore in promoting the design *of introducing the Liturgy of the Church of England at Hanover, and procuring a chaplain of the Church of England*

at the Queen's expense to attend on the Princess Sophia (for this is the affair referred to), cannot now be retrieved, yet enough may be produced to shew that he was actually engaged in such a project, and to satisfy reasonable persons in any scruples they may have entertained concerning his adherence to his former principles, from any groundless reports or mere surmises.

It was in the year 1711, that measures were taken to bring the aforementioned design to bear. The sentiments of the Court at Hanover were sounded upon this occasion, and the proposal met with approbation, *provided a little English court were likewise formed there; and her Royal Highness, by means of a civil list granted her in England, were put into a condition suitable to a first princess of the blood, and the relation she bore to the Crown of Great Britain.* The Archbishop, in all probability, would have been highly instrumental in bringing both these points to bear, had not the great affair of peace, then depending, disconcerted measures and prevented any accomplishment of this design. The occasion of his proposing a chaplain for the Electress, will appear when we come to speak of his care of the interest of the Church of England in foreign parts; it will be sufficient for the present purpose to borrow a testimony as to the other point from a letter of Monsieur Leibnitz

to Dr. Ayerst (then chaplain to the Earl of Strafford), residing at that time at the Hague, by whom this affair was principally negociated, and through whom a correspondence was kept between the Archbishop and Monsieur Leibnitz.

The entire passage of that letter which relates to the matter in hand, is as follows.

“ My Lord Archbishop of York* was in the right to take no notice of the point I had touched

* My Lord Archeveque de York a eu raison de ne point toucher le point que j'avois touché dans la lettre que je vous avois écrité ; car cela n'entre point directiment dans son object : et il semble que sans en parler, il y a de la connexion dans les choses, et que l'une est le fondement de l'autre. Madame l'Electrice n'entre aucunement dans tout ce que je viens de vous écrire. Cette princesse a l'esprit trop eleve et trop content (son etat etant en effect tel qu'on pourroit souhaiter) pour avoir la moindre pretension à faire la moindre demande. Mais des personnes bien intentionnées ont grand sujet de s'y interesser. Et puisque my Lord Comte de Strafford, est encore en Angleterre et que my Lord Comte de Rivers, destiné pour venir icy, n'est pas encore en chemin, non plus que je sache ; il se pent qu'on aye bientôt quelque egard à ce qui est du véritable interest de la nation et de l'Eglise Anglicane. J'apprends déjà que le parti contraire au parti qui a le dessus pretend se moquer et voudroit faire croire que ceux qui ont parlé autrefois en Parlement, et se taisent quand ils ont plus de pouvoir, n'ont pas eu véritablement l'intention qu'ils faisoient pavoitre. Pour moy je ne suis point de ce sentiment et je conçois qu'ils peuvent avoir a present des raisons de leur retenne. Cependant leurs adversaires leurs en feront une affaire un jour. S'ils per-

upon in the letter I wrote to you. For it did not directly fall within his subject, and it seems too, without his mention of it in particular, to be implied, from the connection of the two points, the one being grounded on the other. Madam the Electress has no part in what I have now written to you. That princess having too elevated a mind, and being too content with her present condition (which is indeed such as that a more happy one cannot be desired), to form any pretensions or make any demand. But other well-designing and public spirited persons have great reasons to interest themselves in it; and since the Earl of Strafford is still in England, and my Lord Earl of Rivers, who is designed to come hither, is not yet set out, that I have heard, it may be that some regard will be shortly had to that which is the true interest of the English Church and nation. I understand that the contrary party to that now in power pretends already to make a jest of it, and would have it believed, that they who formerly spoke in Parliament, and *now are silent when they*

dent entierement l'occasion de se faire un merite de un chose, dont la justice est reconnue de tout le monde, et qui n'est pas d'une petite importance pour assurer la nation et la religion. My Lord Comte de Strafford s'il a la occasion d'entrer en matiere *pourra faire valoir l'interest de l'Eglise, et le sentiment de my Lord Archeveque de York.*

have the power in their hands, had not truly the intention they pretended. For my part, I am not of that opinion. I conceive well enough, that they may have their reasons for their reserve at present. However, their adversaries will one day object it to them as a crime, if they entirely lose the opportunity of making a merit of a thing, the justice of which is acknowledged by all the world, and which is of no little importance to the nation and to religion. If my Lord Strafford has an opportunity of entering upon this affair, he may allege the interests of the Church and the opinion of my Lord Archbishop of York, as arguments for it."

This passage from a privy counsellor of Hanover should seem sufficient to justify him, not only as to his general affection to the interests of that court, but as to the particular opposition he had once made to the address about inviting the Electress into England. For though he was against the proposal of a court of the House of Hanover being kept at London, yet he approved of an English court at Hanover; and at a time too when they who had urged the invitation of the princess into England formerly, did not appear very forward to shew their respects to her in the same or the like way. But as they had their reasons for their own conduct, so had he for his; which might

have been discovered and represented more exactly, if the papers relating to this negotiation had not been lost or destroyed in great measure.

Some further instances of his jealousy for the interests of the House of Hanover, and zeal for a Protestant succession, will follow in the course of this narrative*.

In the meantime, let us attend him into the House of Peers, where we shall find him neither

* As concerning a passage in a pamphlet entitled *A Word of Advice to the Freeholders* (and quoted from thence in Togg's Weekly Journal of Saturday, October 13, 1733, number 258,) representing a dialogue between the Marquis of Wharton and the late Archbishop Sharp, upon their happening to meet in the *Court of Requests*, a *few months* before the Queen died, and which the author says, *is known but to very few*, however justly and truly the Archbishop's abhorrence of entering himself into any measures with the then ministry in favour of the Pretender be represented in it, yet it is plainly, from all the other circumstances therein mentioned, *a mere fiction*; so ill calculated in point of time and place as to confute itself. For the Archbishop was not at London during the whole session of Parliament before the Queen's death, or for several months before that. Or, if he had been there, and had really believed the Queen's ministry engaged in such a design as is suggested, it is most improbable he would have moved his suspicion or made his complaint particularly to the Marquis of Wharton, which, if he had done, he had deservedly enough met with the answer said to be given him thereupon. But the whole story seems only contrived to introduce a supposed jest of the marquis's, which, because it is at best but an insipid one, appears, even on that account, to be falsely ascribed to him.

a warm nor a frequent speaker, and yet seldom out of the debate when bills of ecclesiastical concernment were depending. Two bills of this nature offered themselves in the same session of Parliament in which he was introduced in the House of Peers; and he spoke upon each of them. One was the *Quaker's bill*, debated on February 12, 1691*. The other was the bill for dissolving the marriage of the Duke of Norfolk with his duchess, February 16†. He took upon himself the conduct of a bill about *small tithes*, in 1694, framed and prepared most probably by Dr. Stillingfleet, who it seems could not attend the House‡. He bore a great share

* Diary.—On Friday, the 12th, came on the Quaker's Bill, upon occasion of which I first took the boldness to speak in the House.

† Diary.—On Tuesday, the 16th, came on the Duke of Norfolk's bill again. I was with the rest of the bishops. I had occasion to speak about the lawfulness of divorce in the case of adultery.

‡ Diary.—Saturday, April 7, 1694. On Monday night I went to the Bishop of Worcester, about the bill of small tithes. On Tuesday I spoke largely to that bill; and it was ordered, that we should bring in some amendments, and such provisos as we had to offer. That afternoon five or six of us met at the Bishop of Worcester's, and agreed upon alterations and a proviso. On Wednesday I offered them to the House, and spoke to them. That day the bill passed. One alteration was allowed, but the proviso thrown out. In the afternoon I went to the Bishop of Worcester, to give him an account of that matter.

in the debates upon *occasional conformity*, in 1702, and again in 1704. In those upon the *Queen's bounty*, 1703; and in those about the *Church in danger*, in 1705; of which an account will be given in its proper place. On other occasions he did rarely interpose, and then only when matters of real importance to the public were debated, viz. such as immediately concerned either the *prerogative of the Crown*, or the *liberty of the subject*. The first instance of this we have in 1693, on occasion of the bill for frequent calling and meeting of Parliaments. A bill to this effect had passed both Houses in January, 1692, while he was absent, and in his diocese*, but had been rejected by the King. In November following it was resumed; and while it was under debate in the House of Peers, he made the following speech, which being the only one that is preserved, shall be here inserted entire; and the rather, because some things therein foretold, concerning the *effects of frequent elections* and *annual sessions*, may be thought perhaps sufficiently fulfilled, upon experience, since passing the triennial act; which did not take place till the session following, in 1694. The regulating of elections, which he proposed as an antidote or previous step necessary to such

* He left London this winter on December 28.

a bill, has been since attempted by way of remedy, with what success others must determine.

“ My Lords, I have always avoided giving you trouble ; and I would give you none now, but that I think the matter before us is of so great importance, that if ever I can judge it proper for me to offer my reasons for the vote I am to give, I must judge it so now.

“ I was not here the last year when this matter was debated, but I have attentively heard and considered, since the bill hath been now brought in, both what hath been said for it, and what hath been said against it.

“ I must confess, though I have a mighty respect for the wisdom and judgment of those noble lords who have spoke for the bill in all the clauses of it, when it was examined in the committee, yet I am so unfortunate, that I can no more vote with them in the gross for passing the bill, than I did in the particulars for the passing the clauses of it. And that I may not seem to dissent without reason, I desire to offer a few things, upon account of which I think myself obliged to give my vote against it.

“ In the first place, my Lords, I am afraid this bill is a *little too hard upon the King* ; and doth in some measure tend to the *making a change in our constitution*.

“ Whereas our monarchy is now equally

balanced by the prerogative of the King on one side, and the privileges and liberties of the subject on the other ; this bill seems to cast a great weight into one of the scales, more than it had before.

“ I do not say that it is an invasion of the prerogative, or that it is *directly* a diminution of it ; but, if I may be allowed to use that word, *it bears hard upon it*. If once the King be obliged to hold parliaments every year, in time of peace as well as in time of war, whether he needs them or needs them not, methinks it makes the way easier, from an annual session, to come to a *constant* session, or at least a committee of both Houses to sit constantly.

“ I dare say there is none in this House intends such a thing as this ; but I ask, if ever hereafter there should be any man who would in good earnest design to cramp the royal authority, and to oblige the King to take all his measures, both of peace and war, and in the disposal of all offices ; I say, to oblige him to take all his measures, as to these things, from a Parliament, or a committee of the same ; what more effectual step can be made towards the gaining such a point, than to make a law that should oblige him every year to hold a Parliament ?

“ I do, as I said, hope and believe, that none

who are for this bill think or aim at such a matter. But if ever there should come a generation of men who should think of it, would it not much tend to the facilitating their business, that there was such a law already made? Would it not be a natural and easy foundation for them on which to raise greater superstructures?

“ It will be said, and it is truly said, that the King may dissolve Parliaments when he pleases. And if any such motion as I have now mentioned be made to him, he may reject it.

“ Right; he may so. And so his Majesty did the last year reject this very bill. But will his once rejecting such a motion as this hinder it from being offered again? No; we see, by this very bill, that it will not; and when it is offered, will it not be much harder and more offensive in him to refuse it a second time? Will it not cause some ferment and ill humour in his people? So that at last the King must give his consent to it, or be under a necessity of disobliging his subjects.

“ And therefore, in my poor opinion, since all *our* properties and liberties are already so well secured to us by law, we *should not make one step to abridge the King of any of his rights*, which have been so long in the possession of the Crown.

“ But, my Lords, there is another reason for which I cannot give my vote for this bill; and

that is, I think it will really be so far from a benefit or privilege to the subjects of England, that I am afraid it will be a grievance to them. If Parliaments were now chosen in the same manner, and as easily to come by, as they were in Edward the Third's time, it would perhaps be no great matter how often they sat. But, as the way of election of Parliament men now is, as *their privileges as well as their charges are now grown*, methinks that annual sessions and triennial elections are so far from being desirable, that they will really prove a great burden, as well as a great mischief to the country, *Privilege of Parliament is grievous enough to the people of England as Parliaments now are.* But will it not be much more so, when a law is passed, that there shall be in a manner always privilege, and no such interval that any suit can be commenced and finished? The members of Parliament and their dependants will have *constant* privilege; for I may call it *a constant privilege*, where the intervals of privilege are so small, that no suit can commence and be finished within them.

“ If this bill should pass, I hope, that by *holding of Parliament every year*, will be construed no more than that every year a Parliament should be called and assembled; though even that ambiguity of the word may be a snare

to the King's conscience, who is sworn to keep the laws, as well as a handle of making differences between him and his people, if ever any ill humour should work in them. But if by that expression of *holding of Parliaments*, it should be meant that there should be every year a session of Parliament, in the sense that we commonly understand session; I say, if this should really be the law, and *be the practice*, for my part I should think this would prove so intolerably vexatious and chargeable to the members of both Houses, who live at any great distance from this town, that it would be much more heavy than any taxes that have ever been laid upon them.

“ But I spoke of a mischief to the country, as well as a burden, by the passing this bill. And truly I think I may reckon this as a mischief. The debauching of people's manners, and drawing them off from their calling and employment to a course of drunkenness and idleness. And I may likewise account this as a mischief, the *alienating people's affections one from another, and their being engaged in factions, and piques, and quarrels*. And in truth, if these be mischiefs, the elections of members of Parliament, as they are in our days commonly managed, do as much contribute to these mischiefs, *as any other thing I know whatsoever*. And I dare

say all your Lordships are sensible of it. And I cannot think, that when elections come to be so frequent (as by this bill they are ordered to be), but that these mischiefs will be so far from being remedied, that they will be much thereby increased. There will be in all cities and boroughs a solid foundation laid for debauchery among the populace, and for feuds and animosities among the gentry, which in all probability may last as long as the Parliament, that is from three years to three years.

“ I must confess, I should have been a great deal more willing to have given my vote for this bill, had there been a previous *act made for the regulating of elections, and for the settling the privileges of the members of Parliament*, that they might be no grievance to the subject in case of constant Parliaments. But when this bill comes without these two things, I am afraid it will do mischief to the country, but no good.

“ I beg your Lordships to believe, that I am not against Parliaments, nor against frequent Parliaments. But, in my poor apprehension, they should just be *as frequent as there is occasion for them*. I would not put any obligation upon the King to call them, whether he had need of them or no. In all probability, we shall have *too much occasion for them*, in the circumstances we now are ; and I could heartily wish a time

may come when we can live a year without them. When such a time doth come, I should then think it seasonable to have this matter debated; but, at the present, my humble motion is, that it may be laid aside, and that the bill be rejected."

As upon all occasions he delivered his mind freely when he spoke in the House, he ever made voting *a matter of conscience*. When any affair came on, of which he did not think himself so capable a judge as some others of the peers, whose opinions he trusted he might follow, as in *cases of privilege of peerage, &c.* or *in matters of trade*, which lay more out of his way, he would then, after grounding his vote upon the best judgment he could form, make a private memorandum of the reasons that induced him, and enter his own justification in these or the like words: *And I hope I have not done amiss in voting so or so*. Thus he did after the debates upon *the commitment and detainment of the lords in prison**, in November, 1692; and

* His minutes of the resolutions of the House upon this debate, are as follows:—Nov. 12. "I have been every day this week at the Parliament, and staid out all the debates. The business they have been upon is the commitment and detainment of the lords in prison this last summer; and these points I find agreed on, 1st. That to commit to prison, upon a bare suspicion of the persons being ill affected to the government, is not strictly legal, but is to be justified only by the necessity

upon the *Banker's Bill*, in January, 1699, &c. But when he was clear in his own opinion of the justice, or equity, or fitness of giving his voice rather one way than another, then no interests or endeavours whatsoever could engage him or take him off from voting that way; because he made it a rule to be governed, in such a case, by his own judgment, independently of all other views or motives. Some instances of the applications which have been unsuccessfully made to him, may perhaps be worth the noticing.

of the juncture. 2dly. That to commit to prison upon a single oath of treason against a man, is legal. 3dly. That to remand to prison upon affidavit made, that the King's witnesses were not ready, or could not then be procured, though these witnesses *are not then actually sworn*, this also is legal, and so affirmed by all the judges then present, which were ten. 4thly. I think it was acknowledged, that the judges could not remand a man to prison, if it did appear to them there was but one witness against him. But, 5thly, the judges all said (I am sure my Lord Chief Justice did, for I am not certain they all were examined on that question, but the House of Lords took it for granted that this was their sense), that the judges were not bound to examine whether there were two witnesses or no. All that they were to take care of was, that the affidavit was made according to the form that the act of Habeas Corpus directs."

A subsequent memorandum.—“Nevertheless, on the Monday following, it was, to the great grief of my Lord Chief Justice, ordered to be entered on the books, that it is the judges' duty not to remand any man to prison, unless it appear upon oath, that there are two witnesses against him.”

In the case of Sir John Fenwick, the King spoke to him and the Bishop of Norwich at Kensington, December 8, 1696; and did, "*with a great deal of earnestness* (as he expresses it) *recommend the passing the bill of attainder against Sir John Fenwick, telling us how much his government was concerned in it. I then told him, that I had always, in my own mind, been against bills of attainder. He bid us consider well of the thing, and he hoped we would.*" But how needful soever it might be for the King's affairs, to have the bill passed, yet he could not come into it; and accordingly voted against it, December 23d. And so did eight more of the bishops, though twelve of that bench were for it. This was grievously resented by the Bishop of Sarum, which occasioned some little ruffle between them, either in the House or in their lobby.

Something was said on this occasion which seemed to reflect strongly on the dissentient bishops (those of them at least who had been promoted since the late establishment of the Crown), as if it were unaccountable how they who "*eat of the King's bread,*" should oppose measures necessary for his service. To which the then Bishop of Bath and Wells is reported to have replied, that "*if he might be said in any sense to eat another man's bread, it was Bishop*

Kenn's. However the Archbishop's sentiments on these expected compliances of the bishops to the Court, on the account of their being personally obliged by the Crown for their seats in that noble House, appear sufficiently, from many instances (which will be hereafter given), of his *non-compliance with the Court measures, when he did not approve them*, and of his asserting his right to judge for himself, in all his votes to be given in Parliament, even when the late Queen herself *pressed him to be, as she termed it, on her side*. To be *on the side of the prerogative* (which was his principle, when taken in a proper and just sense), admitted so great a latitude of construction, that sometimes the best friends to the Crown could not come up to what was so termed by the ministry, and yet were blamed as deserters of the interests of the Crown in all critical junctures. And to be sure, whenever this charge was laid on the bishops' bench, it was accompanied with *insinuations* of ingratitude, forgetfulness of favours, and with complaints of their having deceived their friends, and being too late discovered. *A hard case of the bishops*, who, when they are *with the Court*, are scarce allowed to be so upon principle, but are represented either as acknowledging and compensating past favours, or seeking and pressing after future; and *when they are against it*,

though it be acknowledged, perhaps, to be upon principle, yet it will scarce be allowed to be done with honour.

The next day after this dispute happened, viz. on Christmas eve, my Lord of Salisbury writ a letter to him upon the same subject; but he seems not to have regarded what was wrote, making no mention of the particulars of the letter, or of any answer returned to it by himself. He approved in his own mind what he had done; and though he had thereby sensibly displeased the bishop, yet he had the satisfaction of meeting with a favourable reception from his Majesty, with whom he received the sacrament the day following, viz. Christmas day; and upon whom he waited a few days after, viz. January 1st and 14th; and remarks, “*that the King received him without any signs of anger.*”

He had upon all other occasions manifested his affection to his Majesty and his government. He had, in the beginning of the same year, readily signed the association, on account of the assassination plot, with the rest of the lords, *He having first got leave, that a declaration of what was meant by revenging**, should be entered upon

* The word had been used on a like occasion, (viz. in the association entered into when Queen Elizabeth was thought in danger from supposed practices of Mary Queen of Scots), but

their books, February 27, 1695. He was likewise one of the bishops who, about that time, joined in publishing a declaration concerning the irregular and scandalous proceedings of three non-juring clergymen, at the execution of Sir John Friend and Sir William Perkins (an account of this was published in quarto, printed for John Everingham). In a word, he told the Earl of Portland, in a letter the year after the attainder of Sir John Fenwick (in which he recommended Mr. H. Finch to the King's favour for the deanery of York, then vacant by the death of Dr. Wickham, but without success), "*that he had never, he believed, done any thing that might give his Majesty occasion of displeasure ; and as I do every day (said he), pray to God for his Majesty's health and success in all his affairs, so do I desire to live no longer than I do uprightly and conscientiously endeavour, to the utmost*

not explained. Bishop Burnet says (vol. II. p. 169), *great exceptions were now taken to it, as not of evangelical sound*. His Lordship must mean, that it seemed to interfere, in its natural or obvious import, with a Gospel duty. For, in any other sense, it would have been a trifling exception indeed. The resolution at last was, that it should be meant *in a legal sense*, either in the prosecution of justice at home, or of war abroad, with which the Archbishop was well satisfied ; not troubling himself, either about the obvious and natural import of the word, or the *evangelical sound* of it, after this *legal meaning* of it was once fixed and ascertained.

of my poor power, faithfully to serve his Majesty in that station wherein his mere goodness, without any desires of mine, hath placed me."

In the late Queen's reign, soon after the meeting of her first Parliament, in 1702, at which time she offered him the almoner's place, and a seat in the Privy Council (both which he at present declined), she put him upon using his endeavours "to make *the bishops vote right,*" as it was termed; not suspecting, as may be presumed, his delicacy on that head; and that the same principle upon which he acted himself would forbid his assuming to direct others who had the same claim of liberty to follow their own judgment which he asserted to himself. Her ministers, who knew him better, and probably from greater freedoms which he took in expressing his sentiments to them, seldom touched upon this head, but sought to work upon him through the Queen, to whom he could deny nothing that was in his power to give. And many a conference had he with her Majesty upon this point. Some of which, on several different occasions, shall be noted down from the short memorandums he made of them in his diary on the days that they happened.

Diary, 1704-5. Saturday, January 27. "I was with the Queen again. She again fell a talking about the bill for qualifying people

to be elected ; and earnestly begged of me that I would do what I could against it in our House. She said she depended upon me. I told her, I had as yet talked with nobody about this bill. But she might be sure, if I was satisfied that the passing of it would be prejudicial to the Crown, I should oppose it."

Thursday, December 13, (1705). " She then bespoke me to vote against the bill for excluding officers, which was that day to be brought into the House of Commons. I gave her no promise, but said I would consider."

Monday, December 9, 1706. " In the afternoon I went to Kensington, to wait upon the Queen. She pressed me earnestly to be on her side in all matters that came before the Parliament relating to the prerogative She desired I would not be governed by my friends (meaning my Lord Nottingham* and that party)

* Her Majesty knew his attachment to that family, and the reasons of it. He did all that was in his power to shew his respect to all the descendants of his great patron. And the Queen had many applications from him in their favour, and many testimonies of his desire to serve them. And his friendship and intimacy with the Earl of Nottingham (which was preserved to the last) would dispose her Majesty's ministers at this time to be apprehensive that he would be governed by the earl in his votes. But it appeared otherwise, as often as the earl and he happened to differ in their sentiments, which they did in several instances in the *latter end of this reign, as well as in some about this time.*

in my votes in Parliament. I told her, ‘*I would always act according to the best sense I had.*’ That I had a great duty to her Majesty; that I should always show myself a loyal subject; nay, and if she would give me leave to say it, *I loved her*; for which she thanked me. She desired I would never promise my vote, till I had acquainted her with my objections; she said, ‘*I should be her confessor, and she would be mine*; and if she could not satisfy me, then I should vote as I pleased.’ I thanked her heartily for this great favour and condescension, and promised her, that I would consult her Majesty in those things wherein she was concerned, before I voted against her inclinations. And I desired no more than to be satisfied.”

This passed when his Grace was just come up out of the country to attend the session that winter; and the next year, when he came to town to the Parliament, her Majesty entered upon the same topic.

1707. Monday, November 3. “I was just come to town, and went to wait upon the Queen and the Prince. I was received very kindly by both of them. The Queen says, she will declare the bishops for the vacancies in a little time, and she will have some talk with me about it. She hopes I will serve her this Parliament. She seemed to intimate, that she was afraid of some

ruffles. I told her, she might be sure I would always be her's; but that I hoped she would give me leave always to vote in Parliament according to my sentiments. That I would always act suitably to my principles, or not contradict them, or words to that effect. By her talk I guess she fears least some of her ministers should be called to account."

Thursday, November 13. "She spoke to me for my assistance or vote in matters that were likely to come before the Parliament with relation to the Admiralty. She said, that the design was against Admiral Churchill, who was one of the ablest men for that service that could be found. I told her, as the merits of the cause were, I should be able to determine how I should act; that I would serve her in every thing that I could, and if I met with any difficulty, I should acquaint her first before I engaged in any party."

Friday, November 21. "She again spoke to me to be of her side as to my votes. I told her I would in all cases where I could act honestly, for that, next to God Almighty, I should desire to please her, or to approve myself to her, I know not which of the words I used."

1707-8. Monday, February 2. "At Kensington the Queen pressed me to serve her in voting against the bill to dissolve the Scotch council,

which is to come into the House on Thursday next. I begged of her Majesty not to lay her commands upon me, for I must vote according to my judgment; and according as I am satisfied what is for the interest of her Majesty and of the kingdom, *for I would make no distinction between them.* I am at liberty whether I will attend or no; and if I attend, I mean to vote as I judge best, however I may displease the queen."

1708-9. Tuesday, January 18. "In the morning I went at eleven to the Queen (after much business dispatched with her, it follows). When I was coming away, she told me, she heard my Lord Guernsey meant that day to bring in question my Lord Duke of Dover's right of sitting in our House, or rather her right to grant him a patent to be duke, and desired my vote for her prerogative. I asked her if that report did not come from the Bishop of Sarum, which she owned. I told her, that I did not know any such thing. But that I believed that patent was questioned by several, and perhaps my Lord Guernsey might be one of them. As for me, I should always serve her Majesty to the utmost of my power; but I must act according to my judgment. That I did not yet understand on which side the right was, but would well consider of the debates, if that matter was brought into the House."

To give but one passage more, and omit all the rest, that are of the same strain.

1709-10. Friday, February 3. "I went to the Queen at twelve o'clock, and staid prayers with her. She then earnestly pressed me to vote against the Bill of Officers, coming up from the House of Commons; and told me it would look strange that I should be the only bishop of the bench that voted for that bill, which was so much against her prerogative. I endeavoured to *convince her it was a good bill*. But though I could not do that, yet I have stuck to my point."

It will be very natural for those who consider him as attached to a party, to interpret all these reserves to his own judgment, as the effect of *a resolution not to drop or desert the Tories*. Had he indeed gone in with that party in every step, this might have been more reasonably suspected. But this was not the case, for he would not only vote against them, but *exert his interest too in opposition to them, as often as he judged they were taking wrong steps*. Two pretty remarkable instances of this shall here be given.

The first in the endeavours he used to prevent the tack of the *Occasional Conformity Bill* to a Money Bill, in 1704. He was entirely for bringing in an act for preventing occasional conformity, and espoused it whenever it was proposed;

but had disapproved of that irregular way of forcing it upon the House of Lords and the ministry by a tack. And though it was a very unusual thing with him to make use of his interest in the House of Commons, yet, upon this occasion, and also at the Queen's desire, he took some pains to frustrate that design. And though *the party in the House of Commons put their whole strength to the carrying this point* (Burnet, vol. II. p. 401), *and were confident* (as he told the Queen), that their number was great enough to carry it (see below, Diary); yet the event was, as the writer of the Annals of Queen Anne tells us on this occasion, "*that, through a great providence, the sticklers for the Bill were strangely disappointed, above an hundred of those who before used to vote with them, having deserted them on this critical occasion.*"

And Bishop Burnet tells us, that *upon the division, 134 were for the tack, and 250 were against, so that design was lost by those who had built all their hopes upon it, and were now highly offended with some of their own party, who had, by their opposition, wrought themselves into good places, and forsook that interest to which they owed their advancement.* (Burnet, vol. II. p. 402.) But his Lordship, when he assigned this reason, however true in part, might not know that the Archbishop had taken off several then in the House, to whom

his suggestion cannot possibly be applied; by treating with such as neither had *favour at Court, or prospect from thence*; as Sir Bryan Stapleton, Sir John Kay, Mr. Comers, &c. who were particularly influenced by the Archbishop himself, and by his son, Mr. Sharp, then a member of the House, in this affair.

But, at the same time that he joined with the Court in his endeavours to prevent the tack, he spoke with great freedom to the Queen about the occasional bill itself. He told her (Diary), “*that they would (he believed) bring it in every session till it was passed, and that it must pass some time or other; that, if it did not, they would fall upon my Lord Treasurer, in whose power they thought it was to get it passed, if he was so inclined; there being so many that had dependance on him. That they were confident their number was great enough to carry the tack, and that he thought the true way to stop it would be, that my Lord Treasurer should send for any one of the leading members, and let them know that if they would not attempt to tack this bill, but let it come up to the House of Lords by itself, he did promise them, that he would do his endeavours with the Lords, that it should pass. But (says he) I found she liked not this proposal. I told her it was reported that my Lord had the last session told some of the*

members as much as this comes to, viz. had promised them, that he would this session use his interest for the passing the bill. This the Queen says was a mistake. I told her *how good a House of Commons* she had this Parliament, and that she ought if possible to oblige them in such a thing as this, which I was very well satisfied would quiet all.

“A good deal more passed between us about this business. I freely spoke all my thoughts to the Queen, and told her, I had made it my business to represent her to every body as no enemy to this bill; and for that end I had taken occasion to tell them what had passed between her Majesty and me upon this occasion; and I begged her pardon if I had done amiss.”

The other instance of his publicly declaring against the Tory measures was in 1705, when they proposed *the calling over the Princess Sophia*. From the first time that this design was intimated by the Earl of Rochester in the preceding Parliament, he could never endure it, as being in his apprehension calculated only to vex the Queen and distract her councils. My Lord Rochester indeed, as well as the Earl of Nottingham, then looked upon as the heads of the Tory party, strongly espoused this invitation; and *with these lords* (says Bishop Burnet), *by a strange reverse, all the Tories joined, and by another*

and as strange a reverse, all the Whigs joined in opposing it *. And this is represented by other writers as the most remarkable instance of mere party attachments that either this reign or the former had produced. But let the Archbishop's sense of this matter be represented in his own words.

Diary.—Wednesday, Oct. 24, 1705. “ When I came home to dinner, I found that a messenger had been sent by the Queen to order me to wait on her at five o'clock in the evening. Her business was to tell me what she had heard. That a motion would be made in our House to send for the Princess of Hanover over, in pursuance of what my Lord Rochester had threatened in a speech the last Parliament, and to persuade me to use my interest with my friends not to come into that motion; which I readily promised her, and told her, that I would always oppose it, as looking upon that project to proceed from nothing but a pique to her Majesty.”

Saturday, October 27, 1705. “ I then went to make a visit to my Lord Rochester, where I talked with him about his speech the last Parliament, about calling in the heir of the House of Hanover, which I took occasion to oppose as

* Burnet's History, vol. II. p. 430.

a thing perfectly against my sense; and as a thing that was very hard upon the Queen, and seemed designed on purpose to pique her. But he insisted upon the reasonableness of it in case *that we really meant the House of Hanover should succeed* after the Queen's death. For in that case it was necessary the heir should be here *on the spot*, otherwise it would be a mighty advantage to the Prince of Wales, who could presently land here with a French force. I opposed this reasoning as well as I could; and afterwards went to the House, where the Queen made her speech," &c.

Monday, November 12. "This morning the Queen sent for me to come to her about eleven o'clock. It was, that she had heard the business of the heir of Hanover would be moved in both Houses, and therefore [she desired me to take occasion, if I was talked to about it, to tell every body my sense of it."

Thursday, November 15. "Then I went to the House, where we staid till five o'clock at night. *The Queen was there.* The debate was about an address to the Queen, to call over the Princess Sophia, or, as it was worded, the pre-presumptive heir to the crown. After many speeches, it was carried in the negative by a great majority. All the bishops voted against this address, except the Bishop of London (who

spoke likewise for it), and the Bishop of Bath and Wells, who went out.”

However, the motion had this effect, that it produced a bill soon after, for the security of the succession, by appointing *lords justices* of England, impowered in the name of the successor to act as if the successor was present. This *Bill of Regency*, notwithstanding it was moved by the Lord Wharton, universally espoused by the Whigs, and *opposed by the leading Tories* in the House of Peers, *he thoroughly approved of*, though in one clause of it he differed from the ministry. “I was one of those (says he,) that voted against my Lord Mayor’s being one of the justices; in which vote I went with the Court. But I was one of those who voted for their being restrained from altering the Test Acts, in which vote I was *against the Court*.”

But however, her Majesty still suspected the same motion would be made again the next Parliament, as appears by the following memorandum.

1706. Monday, March 25. “At five o’clock I went to Kensington to council. After the council was over, the Queen took me aside, and told me, as my Lord Treasurer had done before, that she had apprehensions of the motion’s being renewed the next Parliament, of inviting over the Princess Sophia into England. And there-

fore she pressed me very earnestly, that I would endeavour, in all my conversation, to discourage that matter, and not barely to be silent in it. I told her I was of the sentiments I was before; and should be ready to shew I was so upon all occasions. She asked me if I had not once expressed myself that *I abhorred the thoughts of it*. I told her I could not remember the words, but if her Majesty said I did use those words, I could not doubt but I did."

Now it seems he had dropped such an expression to my Lord Treasurer Godolphin, as he recollected afterwards, and marked it in his diary.

These passages are brought together to confirm what was above observed, that he was steady in this principle, to preserve his liberty and discretion of voting in the House of Peers free from the influence not only of *private friendships* (such as he confessedly had with the Lords Nottingham, Rochester, Guernsey, &c.), or of *the Court* (where yet he had considerable favour and interest), but also of *party*, considered as such; that is, so far as he deemed it *mere faction* or *opposition*; in which case he scrupled not to declare himself fully against it. Indeed, it had been impossible for him, without this temper, notwithstanding the Queen's personal regard for him, to have kept in so good correspondence as

he did, with the Court, during the *whole administration of Lord Godolphin.*

But there is no doubt his interest at Court was principally owing to her Majesty's particular esteem for him, which, as it was the chief reason that engaged his attendance there, and made him in some sense a courtier, such at least as she approved of, will deserve a more particular consideration here; especially as he seems to have *been the only one* that in the various changes of councils and ministers, she *never dismissed*, nor, as far as appears, made any exceptions against, from the beginning of her reign to his death, near the close of it.

It was immediately upon her accession to the crown, that my Lord Nottingham, in a letter wrote to him to persuade him to come up without delay to pay his duty to the Queen (for he was at that time in his diocese), uses these words as his argument. "*I ought to tell you I have good reason to believe that your Grace is more in her Majesty's favour and esteem, than any of your order. And judge whether something more than the ordinary respect of a subject is not due to her from you.*" But, before this, he had taken care by my Lord of Canterbury to send his congratulations upon her accession; *which she took very kindly*, and likewise gave him leave, at his request, and on account of his then indispo-

sition with the stone, not to attend at London till the winter following.

However, the next time she saw my Lord of Canterbury, she could not forbear suggesting her desires, that the Archbishop of York should not only attend the coronation, but preach too, if possible, before her. My Lord of Canterbury represented all this to him in a very kind letter, dated March 28th; to which he answered, April 1st, in the following words.

“ My Lord,

“ I had the favour of your's this morning, wherein you tell me the Queen will take it well if I attend the coronation on the 23d instant. God forbid that I should ever fail in any thing whereby I can shew duty or pay respect to her Majesty; and therefore, if God bless me with tolerable health, so much health as to be able to perform the journey, I design to wait upon her Majesty at that time. Indeed I meant to have done it without this intimation, notwithstanding her Majesty's gracious indulgence which you acquainted me with in your last. For, upon second thoughts, I was sensible it would be intolerable ill manners for me not to pay my duty to the Queen upon so solemn an occasion.

“ As for what you further intimate, that I

must *preach the coronation sermon*, it confounds me so that I know not what to say to it. On one hand I am sensible it is a mighty honour designed me, and I am infinitely obliged to her Majesty, for having so good an opinion of me, as to think me capable of discharging such a work. Yet, on the other hand, my health is so broken with cholics in my stomach, and stone and strangury, that I am altogether unfit to go about any work, and least of all such a business as this. So that if her Majesty will please to appoint any one else for this service, I do not doubt it would be performed much more to her satisfaction.

“ But I do not say this with a design of declining the service, if I thought *I should be able to go through with it*. I have too great a honour for her Majesty, not to take the least intimation of her pleasure, to be a sufficient argument for my obedience. And therefore I do mean to set myself to make a sermon upon the occasion. And I do likewise design to set out from hence to London, on Monday, the 13th. But if any thing happens in the meantime that renders me incapable of prosecuting either the one design or the other, I will give your Grace timely notice.

I am, &c. &c.

“ JO. EBOR.”

Presently after this, his fit of the stone returned with some violence. But voiding the stone at last, he became able, though with great difficulty, to perform his journey; and preached both with more vigour and more acceptance, than could well have been expected, considering how he was disabled both in body and mind.

After this he had several conferences with her Majesty about ecclesiastical matters; and (says he) “*I thank God, I honestly spoke my thoughts about things and persons. She promised that she would not alter her list of chaplains. I did what good offices I could to my Lord Canterbury, Lord Norwich,*” &c. His stay in town was very short upon this occasion. But, upon his return to Parliament next winter, the Queen offered him the almonry and a seat in the Privy Council, by my Lord Treasurer. But he entreated to be excused from accepting either, especially the former. He went to the Queen; he prevailed upon Lord Nottingham to intercede for him with her; but to no purpose, for,

1702, December 15th, “The Queen sent for me, and again pressed me to take the almoner’s place. I refused it as much as I could; but she would not give over urging it; and when I left her, she bid me consider of it, and would not take a denial. I afterwards met my Lord Treasurer at the Scotch Commission. He gave me

a paper containing that it was entirely necessary for the Queen's service I should take this place. I then got my Lord Nottingham to go once more to the Queen, and get me off; which he promised to do, but endeavoured it in vain. So that on Saturday morning I waited again upon the Queen, and told her, if she would force me to it, I must obey. I told her, I would take it upon these terms, that she would dismiss me with the first convenience. And that I should have liberty to go into the country as I used to do; and that I should *not have the care of providing for any more sermons than what fell while I was in town*; but that in my absence she should speak either to the dean of the chapel, or her *clerks of the closet*, to take care of them."

Accordingly, on Friday, February 5th, he received the *Almoner's seal*. And February 11th he was sworn at the Chancery bar for the office of *Commissioner for the Scotch Union*; and March 20th following, he was sworn a *privy counsellor*, with Lord Thanet and Lord Guernsey. And the Queen afterwards told him, that she intended to make him dean of her chapel, if the Bishop of London should drop. And in every thing shewed her inclination to oblige him as much as she could. And he, for his part, made it his endeavour to discharge his duty towards her in the best manner, as her divine or

casuist, with respect to her spiritual concerns; as a good *bishop*, with regard to ecclesiastical affairs, and as a faithful *counsellor* in state points.

In the first of these capacities, *as her pastor*, she trusted very much to his fidelity and skill. She not only allowed him to enter with her into warm discourses about religion, which he often did, when he found proper opportunities for it; but she would send for him on purpose to discourse with her on *practical* duties, especially before she received the sacrament; and lament to him upon some occasions, *that she was really so taken up with business, that she had not time to say her prayers*. The particulars of these discourses were not always noted down by him in his diary, but only mentioned in general. “At this conference I said to her a great many things about religion.” December 31, 1705. Or, “I talked sundry matters with the Queen, but chiefly religious.” Or, “I had a great deal of talk with her about the preparation for receiving the sacrament.” Or, “I had a good deal of talk with her about the exercise of devotion.” Or, “All our talk was about religion, the difference between wilful sins and sins of infirmity, and sins of ignorance; about preparing for the sacrament; about saying one’s prayers, &c. In short, I was sent for to-night purely as *a confessor*.”

March 30, 1711. “After chapel I went up to the Queen (she having sent me orders by a

footman so to do). Her business was to talk with me about her receiving the sacrament on Easter day," &c. And he would charge things which he thought amiss very home upon her, if they were such as pertained to her conscience. As in the case of the Savoy Hospital, where, upon a visitation, the four chaplains had been deprived by an order of the Lord Keeper. July 31, 1702. "*I took occasion, from the naming of the Savoy (this was in November, 1707,) to tell her Majesty of the sad condition of that hospital, which was now desolated by a decree of the Lord Keeper Wright's; and that she ought to restore it again; nay, and to refund all the money she had received from it, for it was sacrilege to touch those revenues.*"

He spoke often and freely to her about methods of restraining the licentiousness of the town, of *regulating the play-houses*; of the hurt done to *city apprentices*, &c. by the plays on *Saturday nights*; of *shops kept open on Good Friday*, and other *indecencies* of that sort, which he thought it became the government to prevent. And then, as to her other affairs of a public nature, whether civil or ecclesiastical, she admitted him to an intimate participation in her counsels. *In things relating to the Church, he was her principal and guide. In matters of state, he was her confident*; one to whom she could disclose her thoughts at all times, and in whose *faithfulness* and friendship she could entirely

trust; though she could not always depend upon his *judgment* in those matters. For, as was before observed, he was a stranger to all that sort of politics which consists in intrigues, cabals, and party schemes; and would have nothing to do with the struggles of the other courtiers and great men *striving to surmount each other*, not so much in her Majesty's favour, as in the great offices and posts in the government. When her Majesty was pleased to acquaint him beforehand with any of her designed changes in the ministry, he would give her his advice very freely. And when alterations were made without his privity, and when he was absent in his diocese, he would as freely speak his mind to her about them after they were made*.

He quite disapproved of her giving herself up to the conduct of any ministry or set of men whatsoever; and the more so, when she took into favour those *whom he knew she disliked*; or when she suffered herself to be prevailed with to *do any thing inconsistent with her former declarations*. These things consisted not with his

* "*Cui bono?*" For some persons may incline to think, that there was more of honest temerity than of seasonable freedom in such *backward* proudness to utter his mind, the changes being effected without asking his advice. But the good Archbishop, as he cannot now *suffer* by his plain dealing, so, were he living, probably could answer the query. Perhaps the Queen liked the compliment to her understanding, implied in such "*free speech*."—*Editor*.

politics, how well soever they might pass at Court. And when he was expostulating with her on such occasions, and sometimes using what he calls "*very hard words,*" as, *Poor Queen! that he truly pitied her . . . and prayed God to inspire her with more courage . . . that such or such things were a reflection on her government; or owing to the influence of those who govern you, madam, and govern us all, or the like; her Majesty would then sometimes vindicate her proceedings, and at others look grave and be silent.* But he never could perceive that she was in the least angry with him, for this his frankness in declaring his mind; or that she was the more reserved towards him in communicating her own designs and thoughts. And she had indeed *this admirable temper and disposition* (which in a princess is the more extraordinary and valuable), that *she could not bear any thing that looked like flattery, but could allow and bear well with plain-dealing,* though it were such as could not be agreeable to her on any other account but for the sincerity of it, and the true friendship it denoted. Of this he had abundant proof from what he observed in many of his conversations with her. And though what he said himself to her could not furnish him with any evidence of her dislike of compliment, yet he had proof of it on other occasions, and in some instances where it was known only to himself.

One was, that when his friend, Dr. More, then Bishop of Norwich, was publishing King William's Prayers* to be used before the Communion, with a preface, in which her Majesty was spoken of in a very deserving, and what she feared, too deserving a manner, and he acquainted her with my Lord's design, *she desired, that if he would publish it, he would leave out all that concerned her in it.*

Another was, when she put into his hands the new form of prayer for the *inauguration office*, for his perusal and amendments, she insisted upon his striking out one expression in that petition which relates to God's making her *a mother of children, who, being brought up in thy fear, and taught by her example*; these last words, *taught by her example*, she begged, might be erased, which was accordingly done, and some other amendments made by him of lesser moment.

Her Majesty had likewise another quality, exceedingly commendable and becoming her station; and that was, her readiness in acknowledging every body's liberty to judge for themselves, and in making all reasonable allowances for those who could not think of her affairs as she did. This moderation in her he often expe-

* These were composed by Archbishop Tillotson, and were printed at the end of his posthumous works by Dr. Barker. Vol. xiv. 8vo.

rienced, as might be observed in what was said above, about his voting in Parliament. Here follows a passage or two more to the same purpose. After a close expostulation with her about the measures she had lately taken, he adds,

“ I had a great deal of talk more of this kind. I assured her that I loved her, and would do her all the service that I could. Nay, and if she should use me ill, I should always behave myself as a dutiful subject. She told me she hoped I would always do what *she desired*. I told her if *she desired reasonable* things, I would. She said, she would desire no other. I answered, I must be satisfied in *my own* judgment, that they were reasonable, for I acted upon principles, and must satisfy my own conscience. She over and over again desired me to endeavour to allay differences, and to contribute my endeavours that things in this Parliament might go on peaceably and smoothly.” Again ; “ I took occasion to assure her of my own fidelity and sense of her favours, but told her I could not come into all her measures. She told me she *never desired any body to vote against their conscience, even at her request.*”

And with respect to the bishops particularly, she told him (it was upon the nomination of Dr. Bull to St. David's, March 6, 1704-5), “ *that*

she should always desire that the bishops she put in should vote on the side that they who call themselves the Church party do vote on."

Had her resolution been equal to her judgment, several difficulties, and perhaps some blemishes, in her administration had been prevented. She declared to his Grace, more than once, *that she would neither be in the hands of the Whigs nor of the Tories.* And when she, of her own accord, gave him the early notice (it was on December 16, 1707), *that she meant to change her measures, and give no countenance to the Whig Lords, but that all the Tories, if they would, should come in ;*" she added, "*and all the Whigs likewise, that would show themselves to be in her interests, should have favour."*

But though some particulars that passed between her Majesty and his Grace concerning the two parties and their respective principles and behaviour (upon which subject her Majesty would sometimes deliver her sentiments with that freedom that intimate friends take, and which she used with him in *talking about persons as well as things ;*) are here purposely omitted, as not relating immediately to his Grace, and as being of no consequence to the world, and likewise for other reasons given in the preface ; yet it seems to be a piece of justice due to her Majesty's memory (and this appears to be the most

proper place for doing it) to declare to the world, *and accordingly it is here solemnly affirmed*, that in all their private conversations, as they appear in the Diary, there is not the least ground to suspect, that her Majesty was not fully satisfied in the *Act of Settlement*, and firmly attached to the present Constitution and Establishment, both in Church and State; nor is *there the least intimation or suggestion of any kind for the interests of the Pretender*. And but a single passage in which their discourse occasionally turned upon him, and that too upon his Grace's own motion, who seemed designedly to sound her sentiments and inclinations upon the subject, that he might do her justice among those who appeared to be jealous of her. The entire passage is this.

1708-9. Saturday, February 5. "I had a great deal of talk about public affairs. I told her that the great jealousy of the nation was, that some people were too much inclined to the Prince of Wales. That all our fears were about Popery, and the eluding the Protestant succession, as established by law. She declared, that she verily believed all sorts of people in the nation, whether Whigs or Tories, were inclined to the Hanover family, as is settled by law. And that she knew *none of her ministers, but were in the same interest*. I am sure I interpreted her words to this sense. She seemed to adhere to

the Protestant settlement, and seemed to have no manner of doubt about it, though I insinuated that all our jealousies did proceed from some of her ministers; and from the little care that was taken at the last invasion for the suppression of it. But she answered all this, and urged the address of Parliament, of thanks for the care that had been taken."

No doubt he was fully satisfied with this declaration. And if afterwards he had either heard any thing from her, or observed any thing about her, so long as he had the honour and happiness to be near her, that should lead him in the least to suspect any alteration of her sentiments or inclination in this point, it can hardly be conceived (considering the great freedoms he took in his discourses with her about affairs which he judged of importance to the Church and nation), either that he should have been silent to her, or *should not have minuted his conference* with her on that subject, as he has done in the place above recited. Whereas no such thing appears in his notes, to the very last day (May, 10, 1713), when he took his final leave of her Majesty, being disabled the winter following from waiting upon her in town. It was observed above, with what difficulties and under what sort of composition, he accepted the Almoner's place. But he found it not only more trouble-

some than he expected, but the Queen more earnest and desirous to retain him in that office, and have him about her. He found trouble and delays in procuring from the Treasury the money allotted for the almonry. And when that was in arrear, he would lend the Queen, and sometimes borrow out of her privy purse, what was sufficient to supply the demands of her pensioners. He told her once, that "*if my Lord Treasurer would not pay up his arrears, it would be necessary for them to shut up shop, for they should have no money for the Maundy.*" He used to tell her, in a pleasant way, that "she owed him so much;" which she would generally pay him with her own hands; and for a specimen of her private charity through his hand, let us take one of his computations of all that he had received from her Majesty in a winter.

April 25, 1711. "I have been casting up what money I have received of the Queen since my coming to town till this day. And find I had of her 270 guineas; and some time after Christmas 100 guineas. On February 24th, I had 70 guineas; on March 15th, 100 guineas; March 27th, 5 guineas; at Easter, 400 guineas and 100l." And afterwards, before he left London, 150l. more. In all, 1237l. 5s.

And then the *providing preachers* before her Majesty, was another thing that gave him trou-

ble, because he found it difficult to do it without sometimes *giving offence*. For, though he avoided doing so as much as he could, yet exceptions could be taken for very small matters, which came not into his Grace's considerations in the appointment of an able man for that service; such as the preacher's *being reputed an high man*, and not so acceptable to the then ministry. Which is not so much to be wondered at, when it was objected to a very learned and pious prelate, whom he substituted to supply one of his own courses, *that he would be unacceptable, having voted for the Princess of Hanover's being invited over*, whereas his Grace, though himself against that vote, had no thought of making so trivial a thing an exception to his being a preacher. And then, if any thing happened to be taken amiss in a sermon, he was pretty sure to hear of it, and obliged to apologize either for his clerk or for his choice, which he thought the harder upon him, because he observed that he himself could not always escape the censure of the audience.

1706. December 16. Monday. "In the afternoon I went to Kensington, where I had a long private discourse with the Queen. . . . Afterwards about providing preachers for her in my course. I represented the hardness of it to her, unless I might use her name. *She said it belonged*

to my place. She asked me why I would not preach myself at Christmas, and the next inauguration day. I told her I could not, for I was grown *old, and past making new sermons*. And besides, I told her I had no reason to be forward in preaching before her, because I found the last sermon I preached gave offence to some of the auditory. She would not believe it." Nor would any body believe it who knew how cautious he was in his sermons at Court, least they should give offence; for which reason they were generally *practical*. We have an instance of this his superabundant care in the time of Sacheverell's trial. He preached a sermon he had composed on Ephesians iv. 1. But he left out the former part of the text, *I the prisoner of the Lord beseech you*; upon which he had a fine and pathetic introduction, for fear he should be thought in that preface to touch upon Dr. Sacheverell.

But his greatest trouble, and what he told the Queen was *a torment to him*, was the incessant application that was made to him from all parts for some share of her Majesty's bounty. He had so much tenderness in his nature, that he was not able to refuse his endeavours to succour the distressed. And his applications to her Majesty were so frequent on their behalf, as had not her disposition been exceedingly

beneficent, must have tired out her patience. No wonder then he was so solicitous to get rid of this *troublesome office*.

1704. Tuesday, November 14. " I told her I hoped that between this and next year, some new bishop might be made, to whom I might resign the Almoner's office. She smiled, and said, ' I must not, or I hope not,' or some such word."

1706. Monday, December 9. " In the afternoon I went to Kensington, to wait upon the Queen. Afterwards I begged of her to think of some one to be put into my place of Almoner. For that I was weary of and incapable of serving it. And that I had done all that I promised, which was to take it for a year or two, till she was better provided. And I was sure there were enow she might pitch upon, and begged of her to advise with my Lord Treasurer and my Lord Marlborough. I mentioned particularly the Bishop of Norwich, for whom she declared she had a kindness. But the Queen would not hear of my quitting this place, notwithstanding all that I said."

At other times he spoke to the same purpose. March 25, 1706. Twice in the year 1707, he offered to resign (April 21,) his seal; and the second time "*he did it upon his knees. But she would not accept of it; though (he says) she expressed*

great kindness to him, and said, that she had not heard any ill representation of him."

On March 8, 1709-10, he offered it again, alledging, "that *he* had no other consideration that prevailed with him to continue in it, but the prospect he had of doing good to the Church and to worthy persons, by recommending them to her. She told him he *should not quit his post.*"

But, as desirous as he was to resign his seal, two things should be remarked, the first is, that so long as he kept it, he would not suffer the Almoner's rights or privileges in the least to be invaded. The Lord Chamberlain claimed some right of presenting two Maundy women, and had firmly asserted it. "*But I* (says he) *persisted in denying it; and March 19, 1706-7, would have made him see clearly, that neither he nor any body else could have a right so long as I had the Queen's patent. But I told him, I would be as civil to him as my predecessors had been.*"

The other is, that he would not offer to resign his seal at any time, when he might be suspected to be moved to it by the influence of party. Thus, in 1705, October 25, "*The Duke of Buckingham told him, he wondered to hear that he had not resigned his almoner's place.*" And in 1708, April 15, discoursing with the Queen, "*I had some talk* (says he) *about Mrs. Masham, whom I*

find she hath a true kindness for. She seemed to be pleased that I would not at this time offer to resign my office till I was turned out. At least at present she said she would not turn me out."

Her Majesty never seemed, except at this particular time, to have had any thoughts about removing him from her immediate service. And though she had some such thoughts then, yet she took care to let him see she had no such inclinations, whatever part the necessities of state might oblige her to act. She had formerly signified her desires to him, that he should never be parted from her, as in 1704-5, Wednesday, March 21. He had taken occasion before her to speak "*what a world of good a clergyman might do by applying himself wholly to the making people good.*" He added, "I told her I hoped in a little time I should be excused from meddling in any state matters; and that I should have time to apply myself to the same work. She told me, she hoped that would never be as long as I lived. And indeed all his life long she expressed herself with so much kindness and affection for him, as shewed this declaration to be sincere. His Grace could not help taking notice sometimes of the particular courtesy wherewith she treated him; especially at their salutations, when he came to town, and their adieus when he left it. Thus, October 2, 1705,

“ *She treated me with all the kindness and freedom that ever she did in her life. She told me she hoped all was quiet at York. I told her (pleasantly), ‘ Yes, we were there most of us Whigs.’*”

March 25, 1706. “ I desired her commands into the country, and pleasantly asked her whether I might leave the town with a good conscience, that I was not under her Majesty’s displeasure. She assured me I was not.”

In the year that the prince died, he made his first visit the day after the funeral.

November 14, 1708. “ I waited upon the Queen, who received me very kindly. We both wept at my first coming in. She is in a very disconsolate condition. I said all that I could by way of comfort to her. She asked after my health, and hath given me leave to come to her whenever I please.”

And at their last farewell, May 10, 1713. “ *She parted with me,*” says he, “ *with all the expressions of kindness and good wishes that could be.*”

But perhaps the greatest mark of her esteem and friendship for him was given by her *after his death*, in the immediate appointment of the man whom he desired to be his successor. There was no favour she could have obliged him in equal to this. Sir William Dawes was a person, whom, for his very great worth and abilities, and *inviolable attachment to the in-*

terests of the Church of England, his Grace had adopted in his wishes to succeed him in his pastoral charge. For he was a man of gravity and prudence, of decency and courtesy, of singular presence of mind, of extraordinary resolution and constancy, and yet of a moderate and cool spirit, and of exemplary regularity and exactness in all parts of life. And he had moreover a very *strong and vigorous constitution*, which fitted him to execute with ease the most laborious parts of the episcopal function, which in Archbishop Sharp's judgment was of no small *moment in the choice of a bishop*. Upon these considerations (not to mention Sir William's other natural and personal advantages, viz. a tenacious memory, a graceful mien, a fine address, and a sweet elocution). He drew the Queen's affections upon that baronet. And having first procured him the bishopric of Chester, and made experiment of his prudence and assiduity in the management of that large diocese, he made the way more easy for his removal from thence to the metropolis of the province.

It was said above, that in the affairs of the Church he was her Majesty's principal guide. This is in good measure true, with respect only to ecclesiastical promotions, though more evidently so in other Church affairs, as will be

shewn hereafter. At present let it be observed, that the interest that he had with her Majesty he chiefly employed in procuring preferments for learned and worthy men; or at least her bounty for such of them as were in distress. He had been formerly, as was related above, an useful friend to men of literature and merit, while he was chaplain to Lord Chancellor Finch, and recommended to preferments in the gift of the seals, and no less so in the commission* appointed by King William for approving and recommending to his Majesty fit persons to succeed in the Crown preferments; in which he was joined with my Lord of Canterbury, and the Bishops of Ely, Sarum, &c. And the same desire of providing the Church with able men, prompted him to labour this point with the Queen; in which he had more success than any *one man* in her reign, though not so much as he might have expected, could she always have followed her own judgment or inclination. *For her ministry were constantly interposing and directing her in the disposal of ecclesiastical preferments, as well as of civil and military offices.* So that frequently she was not at liberty to yield to his influence, and follow his advice.

* The first commission was granted April 6, 1695. And a new one was granted, May 9, 1700, which Mr. Le Neve has printed in his *Lives and Characters*, &c.

Yet this regard was had to him, notwithstanding, that the Queen would rarely give her promise without his advice, and, generally speaking, consent first obtained. And he did not prove unworthy, either of this her Majesty's confidence in him, or condescension towards him. For he neither would oppose any man of real worth, upon account of party distinctions; nor would he consent to her preferring any man whose religious principles or morals were ill spoken of or suspected, though he were otherwise of great abilities, *useful to the ministry, or favoured at Court*. He had remarkable struggles with great men upon this score, but he held to his point, and he prevailed, at least as to the promotions *in England*. He could not bear she should give her preferments to persons who had no other merit, no other title to her favour, than their zeal for a party. And he thought it hard (and used to tell her Majesty so), that men of known virtue and learning should not share in these favours, *purely because they fell under the denomination of party men*. He laid before "her the ill consequences she would find if she made distinctions of persons as to high and low Church, in the disposal of her Church preferments." He must mean, if she made *party* her only or principal rule in the bestowing those preferments. For at one time (as he observes)

she refused persons, as he thought, for being Tories. (1705.) At another time, when he recommended, the reason given for the refusal was, that the person he proposed *was a notorious Whig.* (1713.) He imagined she might depend upon the goodness of her own judgment as to the worth and fitness of persons, if she would but make use of it. And told her, when he proposed several to her for a vacant bishopric, “*that whether she put in any of his naming or no, she should put in one of her own choice, and not have one put upon her by others.*” It is true, that most of those who succeeded in preferments through his friendship were reputed Tories. Yet his applications for his own friends were made with all the justice and fairness that could be to the characters of those of the other party, who happened to have the same preferments in view. For instance, when the living of St. James’s was void by the promotion of Dr. Wake, his Grace proposed Dr. Moss *as a fit person for it;* and the Queen told him, *She had thoughts of him herself;* yet Dr. Trimnel being occasionally mentioned, *he gave her a very good character of him**. In which, though he did no more than

* He had before said to my Lord Sunderland, in a letter, June 14, 1703. “*I heartily wish Dr. Trimnel had some good preferment in the Church; for he well deserves it, and indeed I do not know a better man. If my good character of him to her*

what was just, yet probably Dr. Trimnel was more obliged to him for this lift, than to all the interest that was made by his other friends. And the same may be said of the great Bishop Bull, of whose late promotion, though the Archbishop of Canterbury seemed to claim the merit, yet she told the Archbishop of York, that “ *She would not have done it, but for the great character he had given her before of this Dr. Bull.*” He indeed did not rightly approve of this promotion, on account of the doctor’s great age. He thought his merit should have been rewarded some other way; and as it was a reflection on the government, that a man of such worth should not be earlier preferred, so it might prove a detriment to the Church, that he was preferred so late. And as to Dr. Beveridge, who naturally occurs to the mind upon the mention of age and learning among the English bishops, his Grace reminded the Queen, “ *that her father King James had in her hearing declared him to be the learnedst man we had in our Church.*” He delighted indeed in giving her Majesty good characters of her clergy, and would never give a bad one, though true, unless the interest of the Church obliged him to do so. He used to grieve and

Majesty can add any thing to her Grace’s (viz. the Duchess of Marlborough,) recommendation, I am not only ready, but shall be glad to give it at all times.”

complain of the strange misrepresentations which he observed were made to the Queen, of persons who deserved her favour and countenance. He set her right as often as he had opportunity, and would sometimes “*have (as he says) warm talk with her about those who made false representations of persons to her Majesty.*”

And he had some reason too to expostulate with her on this head, upon his own account, for there were some who had endeavoured to represent him to her Majesty, as not being true to her interests, as both my Lord Godolphin and my Lord Marlborough had acquainted him, though the Queen herself took no notice of it, nor seemed to receive the least impressions to his prejudice.

But to proceed to his other acts and services for the benefit of the clergy, and honour of the Church of England. In all ecclesiastical affairs during the Queen’s reign, he was principally consulted, and as he applied himself more closely to those as being most properly within his sphere, so his application generally met with success, and turned to good account. The point that claims to be first considered under this head was, that glorious and ever-memorable act of the Queen’s reign, commonly called *her Bounty*.

The thought was originally from Bishop Bur-

net in the late reign, as is related in his life, much to his honour. His lordship drew up two memorials upon it, which he presented to the King, one in 1696, and the other in the year following; copies of which the Princess of Denmark obtained; and she also seconded his motion to the King; *but it did not then succeed.* His Lordship afterwards made Lord Somers a friend to this scheme, and likewise the Earl of Godolphin, who (as the author of Bishop Burnet's Life observes) *afterwards carried this design into execution.* And this he did with the assistance of the Archbishop of York, to whom he gave the first intimation of her Majesty's disposition to give back the first fruits and tenths to the Church, on the 6th of January, 1703-4. And also gave him hopes, that upon application of the bishops to her Majesty, something of that kind might be effected. Upon which he went to the Queen, January 10, and spoke to her upon that head, where he met with a disposition equal to his desires, only she thought it was better not *to make the design public till the manner of executing it was in some measure adjusted with my Lord Treasurer.* Which being done, the following message was agreed upon between my Lord Treasurer and the Archbishop, to be sent to the House of Commons, then sitting.

“ Anne R.

“ Her Majesty having taken into her serious consideration the mean and insufficient maintenance belonging to the clergy in divers parts of this kingdom, to give them some ease, has been pleased to remit the arrears of the tenths to the poor clergy. And for an augmentation of their maintenance, her Majesty is pleased to declare, that she will make a grant of her whole revenues arising out of first fruits and tenths, so far as it now is, or shall become, free from incumbrances, to be applied to this purpose. And if the House of Commons can find any proper method by which her Majesty's good intentions to the poor clergy may be made more effectual, it will be a great advantage to the public, and very acceptable to her Majesty. St. James's, February 7, 1703-4.”

This message was on the same day delivered to the House by Mr. Secretary Hedges, and was well received, most of the members having been apprised of it before. The Archbishop had upon this occasion turned solicitor, and applied personally to Sir Thomas Pelham, Sir Richard Onslow, Sir Simon Harcourt, Sir Christopher Musgrave, Sir John Holland, Mr. Bromley, Mr. St. John's, and others, who were leading men. The same he did also in the House of Lords, where there was rather more

occasion ; for there the bill bore a long debate, and was carried only by a small majority. “ *The Bill for applying the tenths and first fruits,*” &c. says he, “ *was committed to a committee of the whole House. We had a long debate about it. The Whig Lords, and some of the Tories, about four, opposed it. All the bishops were unanimous for it. I spoke twice in it. We carried it by seven votes, the non-contents being 27 ; the contents, 34.*”

In the meantime the Convocation were very early in their address of thanks to her Majesty for her gracious message to the House of Commons. And it was thought proper, that the Archbishop and Bishops of the province of York should join with them in the address upon that occasion. Whereupon he was pitched upon to present it ; my Lord of Canterbury being at that time disabled from going abroad. But this created an unexpected difficulty upon both the archbishops. For it was suggested to his Grace, at Lambeth, that his appointment of the other archbishop to appear at the head of the bishops and Convocation of the province of Canterbury, *was giving up his rights*, and what he could not do, having, by an instrument of substitution, appointed the Bishop of Worcester to represent him in Convocation. And therefore that bishop was to present the address. This my Lord of Canterbury signified to the Archbishop of York

by letter, who was very willing to decline the office that had been allotted him, least he should seem desirous to invade a jurisdiction in which he was not concerned. But it so happened that the Bishop of Worcester could not be prevailed upon to present the address himself; which occasioned a second letter from Lambeth, to contradict the purport of the former, and to acquaint the Archbishop of York, that it was now necessary for him to head the Convocation, that being the day on which the address was ordered to be presented: my Lord of York not knowing what use would be made out of his engaging again to perform that office, by those who had instilled the former jealousies into his Grace of Canterbury, wrote the following letter to the Archbishop.

“ February 14, 1703-4.

“ My Lord,

“ I had the favour of your Grace’s letter by your servant, which indeed so surprised me, that I was not sorry the business of the Lords’ House this day offered so fair an occasion of getting the Queen to put off the presenting our address till to-morrow. My Lord Treasurer was pleased to undertake that matter, and accordingly was gone to the Queen before I had your second letter by the Bishop of Wor-

cester. I suppose it was his Lordship's unwillingness, or rather refusal, to present the address, together with the straightness of time, for the taking new measures, that inclined your Grace so to alter your sentiments, as to desire me in your second letter to present the address. But now, my Lord, as it has happened, you have time enough to settle that matter as you please.

“ I beg of you, therefore, if the Bishop of Worcester persists in his refusal, that your Grace would be pleased, some time to-morrow, to send your deputation to the Bishop of London (who will be in the House to-morrow, and *who in your Grace's absence may expect such a substitution*), or to any other of the bishops whom you shall think fit to attend the Queen with the address of your Convocation.

“ I assure your Grace, it never entered into my thoughts to break into your Grace's jurisdiction, by putting myself above your substitute in any matter relating to your Province. But since your bishops designed this as the address of thanks of *all* the bishops of England, and accordingly worded it so in the address; and told me, that I must present it, and the Lower House made no objection to it; I made no scruple of sending to Mr. Tillot for a copy of it. But I hope there is yet no harm done, and

that there may be none done, I humbly desire your Grace to order somebody else to carry it to the Queen, only altering the title by putting *Archbishop*, instead of “*Archbishops*,” and leaving out “*of the Church of England*.”

“ I am, your Grace’s

“ Most humble servant, &c.”

But nevertheless, the next day, February 15, upon repeated instances from my Lord of Canterbury, and to prevent any miscarriage on such an occasion, and to preserve the appearance of unanimity in the Convocation at that juncture, he undertook the presentation of the address, and read it accordingly to her Majesty.

And that the clergy of his own Province might not be wanting in their compliments on the same occasion, he himself drew up the following address for the *Convocation at York*, and presented it to the Queen in *their name*, on the last day of the same month.

“ May it please your most excellent Majesty,

“ We the clergy of the province of York, in Convocation assembled, do, for ourselves, and on the behalf of all our brethren of the same province, who were present, humbly beg leave to throw ourselves at your Majesty’s feet, in most hearty and thankful acknowledgments of your Majesty’s most pious and affec-

tionate care for the Church of England, expressed in your late message to the House of Commons; wherein your Majesty is graciously pleased to declare that you will give your whole ecclesiastical revenue of first fruits and tenths, as it shall become free from incumbrances, to be applied to the augmentation of poor benefices throughout England.

“ We cannot forbear saying, that your Majesty has, in this surprising instance of your kindness for the Church, outdone all your predecessors since the Reformation. They took care that our holy religion should be purged from the errors and superstitions with which Popery had corrupted it; and they took care likewise, that it should be so transmitted to us. And for this their memories will be for ever blessed. But your Majesty not only takes care to preserve our religion in the same purity, and to protect our Church in all its legal rights and privileges; but has farther taken care also, that the minister of it shall in due time have a competent maintenance. The want of which provision was indeed the great if not the only blemish of our Reformation; and therefore doubly blessed will your Majesty’s memory be in all succeeding generations.

“ As we are sure that this pious and charitable act of your Majesty is highly acceptable to

God, who fails not *to recompense even a cup of cold water given to a prophet in the name of a prophet*; so we cannot but hope it will have such an effect upon all your Majesty's subjects who love our Church and religion, and especially upon us of the clergy; that we shall endeavour more and more (if it be possible) to express our zeal for your Majesty's service. And particularly we shall think ourselves obliged every day to put up our most earnest prayers to God Almighty for your Majesty's long life and happy reign over us. And that for this exceeding good work he would add an abundant increase to the glorious rewards that we doubt not are laid up for you in the heavenly kingdom."

To which her Majesty returned the following answer, drawn up likewise for her by the same hand.

"Gentlemen, I take your address very kindly. It is my desire that all the clergy should have a comfortable maintenance, especially those of them who faithfully do their duties to God and the Church. Such it shall always be my care to support and encourage."

My Lord Halifax was pleased to observe to him, upon this answer of her Majesty's, "*We know,*" says he, "*what the Queen means in her answer to your York address; but we cannot so well understand her answer to that of the Convocation here.*"

He continued very active in whatever related to the completing this design; as, in the dispatch of the charter, providing a place for the commissioners, attending regularly and constantly himself, &c. Nor was he wanting in his solicitations for the like bounty to the clergy of Ireland. He presented their petition to her Majesty on March 13, following; in which they besought her to be as kind to them, in granting her ecclesiastical revenues there, as she had been here in England.

And when difficulties arose to some private clergymen, on the grant of the bounty, from the Attorney-General's opinion, *that it was not proper to do any act which might lessen the Queen's gift*; and therefore my Lord Treasurer doubted whether it were proper to remit the arrears of tenths, which from some persons were considerable, he interposed in behalf of the clergy in arrear, "*and alleged that the forgiving their debt could not be a lessening of the general gift, since the general gift was only designed for the ease and benefit of particular men. That, as he took it, the Queen's grant had only respected the tenths and first fruits that were to become due after passing the act, but did not extend to the arrears of them. That the discharging the arrears of abundance of the poor clergy was necessary, especially such as were contracted before their incumbency.*" And in another

letter to my Lord Treasurer, dated June 19, 1703, he has these words:—" I was in hopes, before this time, to have heard of a privy seal for the pardoning all the arrears of tenths due from livings not above 30*l.* per annum. Good my Lord, give me leave to put you in mind of this." He pressed this matter both to the Queen and Lord Treasurer with some warmth. And no doubt the indigent clergy were exceedingly obliged to him for it.

Another ecclesiastical affair, and of public concern, upon which he was consulted and employed, was the healing up the divisions between the upper and lower House of Convocation for the province of Canterbury. In 1700 and the two following years, differences and *disputes about convocational rights and proceedings* had been carried on with some vehemence. Several papers, *pro* and *con*, had been published, and several able and great men had been concerned on both sides. Some asserting the right of the Archbishop of Canterbury, with his suffragans, to continue or prorogue *the whole* Convocation; others maintaining the liberty of the lower clergy, as having a right to convene and to dispatch, or rather prepare matters in the intermediate days of prorogations; and others challenging to them an independent power of sitting, and rising,

and adjourning themselves at discretion. These disputes having run a great length, the Lower House petitioned they might have leave to address the Queen to take this matter into her consideration, and appoint persons to *hear and finally determine it*. But the Upper House thought it not proper that her Majesty should be troubled with their controversies. Thus things stood in the latter end of 1702. And the next winter, upon the meeting of the Parliament, the Court apprehending these difficulties might still increase, my Lord Treasurer took an opportunity of speaking to her Majesty before his Grace (November 11, 1703), and “*desired her that she would command my Lord of York to take some pains in putting an end to the differences in Convocation; for that he believed both parties, by his Grace’s means, might be brought to an accommodation.*” And three days after, my Lord Treasurer wrote to him the following letter.

“*Sunday Night, Nov. 14, 1703.*

“ My Lord,

“ In pursuance of what I mentioned the other day to your Grace before the Queen, I understand Dr. Atterbury designs to wait upon your Grace to-morrow morning, with intentions to submit all to your conduct.

“ If you please to give him such a favourable reception as may encourage his endeavours towards composing the difference in the Convocation, I hope it may lay a good foundation for the peace of the Church, and great advantage to her Majesty’s service from it.

“ I am, with great respect,

“ My Lord, your’s, &c.

“ GODOLPHIN.”

He applied himself accordingly to concert measures with the members of both Houses; but chiefly Dr. Atterbury, of the Lower House, and the Bishop of St. Asaph, of the Upper (Dr. George Hooper). And in nine days time he met the Archbishop of Canterbury at the Cockpit, November 23; when they agreed upon a meeting between two of the Upper House, on the side of the Bishops, and two of the other side. And the differences were for the present at *least laid asleep*. The world hath been already too much acquainted with the subject of these controversies to make the repetition of it, at this time of day, either necessary or desirable. Nor do they, indeed, fall properly within the compass of these Memoirs, to take any further notice of them, than that the Archbishop acted in this matter as a mediator or umpire.

But some years after (1710), he thought their *sitting and acting*, when all these disputes were blown over, *might be of service to the Church*; and accordingly he proposed it to the Queen.

Thursday, November 30, 1710. "I had a good deal of talk with the Queen about the Convocation acting, which she is willing they should, *provided the matters they are to act upon be first concerted*. I mentioned, upon this occasion, the Prussian affair. She told me of some new injunctions which my Lord of Canterbury had put into her hands, and which she would put into my hands to peruse."

Of the Prussian affair we shall give a more particular account hereafter. In the meantime, the sitting of the Convocation was forwarded, and at an appointed meeting for that purpose at the Bishop of Rochester's; where the Earl of Rochester, Mr. Harley, and the Bishop of Bath and Wells, were present; the Archbishop of York proposed three several things for the Convocation to consider of, if a licence were granted for them to sit and act. 1. The state of the Church, and the mischiefs that were done by blasphemous and scandalous doctrines and papers which were spread about. 2. The affair of the King of Prussia, *who seemed inclined to introduce the Liturgy of the Church of England into his kingdom*. 3. The turning the writ *de*

excommunicato capiendo, into a writ *de contumaci*; to prevent excommunications upon the mere trivial or pecuniary matters. He was desired to put these into writing, that they might be considered of and laid before the Queen. Upon which he sent for Dr. Atterbury, then Prolocutor; Dr. Smalldridge, and Dr. Stanhope, Dean of Canterbury, and committed to them the drawing up these minutes, which were afterwards, at another meeting in the same place, January 13, 1710-11, read and examined. Some things were struck out, and some few amendments made. Then they were delivered to Mr. Harley, to be transcribed fair, and laid before her Majesty. But before that was done, it was thought proper to have the judgment of some other prelates about them. Whereupon another appointment was made on January 20, at which, besides the above-mentioned company, were present, the Bishops of Bristol, St. David's, and Exeter; who unanimously agreed, that the heads before adjusted, were proper to be treated of in Convocation. *He would have added another proposal concerning bishops being provided for the plantations.* But, as my Lord of London, who had a right to be consulted first on that project, was not there, the thing was dropped.

The Queen afterwards told him, that she

approved of all the minutes that had been laid before her about the Convocation, and that she meant to send to every bishop to come to her, and that she would send my Lord Dartmouth to my Lord of Canterbury, to prorogue the Convocation for one week longer.

Having set the design upon this fair footing, he was obliged to leave the execution of it to other hands. For it was not proper for him, as he belonged to another province, to concern himself further in it.

There were other ecclesiastical matters, about which he had formerly conferred with the Prolocutor, as being proper subjects for the Convocation to take into their consideration; such as these. To think of means to *prevent clandestine marriages*, by enforcing the canon about licences. To find out a method of restraining ecclesiastical officers from *taking exorbitant fees*, and of regulating Spiritual Courts. To consider of one book or *form of Singing Psalms* to be used throughout England, and the like. Upon which he thought the Convocations might be both *usefully and inoffensively employed*.

But though he thought of these things, and suggested them in a private way, yet it doth not appear that he took any further steps towards bringing them to bear. He might probably be apprehensive, that the times in which

he lived were not seasonable for such proposals; and that the *reformation of discipline* and establishment of new rules and orders, even in small matters, were to be maturely considered and thoroughly canvassed by men of other professions, as well as of his own, before they could be properly carried into execution.

What opinion he had of the Established Church of England, will best appear from his own words, delivered upon a very solemn occasion, and in a very solemn manner.

“ If we take our measures (says he) concerning the truths of religion, from the rules of the Holy Scripture, and the platform of the primitive Churches; the Church of England is undoubtedly both, as to doctrine and worship, the purest Church that is at this day in the world; the most orthodox in faith, and the freest on the one hand from idolatry and superstition; and, on the other hand, from freakishness and enthusiasm, of any now extant. Nay, I do further say, with great seriousness, and as one that expects to be called to account at the dreadful tribunal of God, for what I now say, if I do not speak in sincerity, that I do in my conscience believe, that if the religion of Jesus Christ, as it is delivered in the New Testament, be the true religion (as I am certain it is), then *the communion of the Church of England is a*

safe way to salvation, and the safest of any I know in the world."

And to this same purpose he has declared himself a thousand times, when he hath occasionally spoke of the blessings we of this kingdom enjoy in our national Church.

But though he esteemed our ecclesiastical establishment as valuable in itself, and gave it the preference to all others now in being (and perhaps no man ever considered it more thoroughly, or spoke of it upon better informations and surer grounds than he did), yet he was far from thinking it so perfectly constituted as not to allow room for improvements, *especially in regard of discipline, which had never been effectually provided for*, and which likewise, from time to time, had been gradually impaired and enervated by encroachments upon it from the temporal courts. Neither did he think the Liturgy so exactly reformed, as to admit of no further amendment, had there been opportunity of attempting such a thing with safety. Though he admired the *communion office*, as it now stands, yet, in his own private judgment, he preferred that in *King Edward's first service book* before it, as a more proper office for the celebration of those mysteries; nor was this the only office that he thought might be rendered more suitable to the respective occasions

for which they were compiled; which judgment probably he had formed from that examination of the Liturgy which he was concerned in, as one of the ecclesiastical commissioners in King William's reign, for reforming the Liturgy and Canons. But though he had these sentiments, yet he ever blessed God that our public worship was so pure as it is; our rites so simple and inoffensive, and our discipline in no worse a state, all things considered.

But what most commendeth his zeal for the Ecclesiastical Establishment is this, that it was always accompanied with moderation and tender compassion towards those whose consciences would not allow them to comply with it. He was generally thought a warm man against the dissenters; but this opinion of him seems rather to be grounded upon another equally mistaken one, viz. his supposed inviolable attachment to a party, than upon any just reasons. He pressed his arguments against separations and schisms with warmth and earnestness in his sermons and writings; but it will be seen in them also, with how mild a temper and with how Christian a spirit he treats the dissenters themselves. He compassionates their weaknesses, but never exclaims at their obstinacy, or attempts to raise resentment or indignation against them. So that, if he was their adversary (and in one sense

he was a very formidable one, yet in another) he was as reasonable and fair a one as ever they had to deal with. He never treated them or spoke of them otherwise than with that calm spirit which visibly runs through his writings in their controversy; and as he hated every thing that had but the appearance of bitterness and violence against their persons, so *he was even shocked to hear them vilified and maltreated in the pulpit, which he abhorred should be prostituted to such purposes.*

It is very true, he did oppose their *occasional conformity*, and bore his testimony for the bills that were brought in to prevent it.

Diary.—“ I spoke as well as I could for the bill, and not to my own dissatisfaction, I thank God. December 14, 1703.” It is true, likewise, that in the debates about the Church being in danger, in 1705, though he looked upon them as most other people did, to be mere party struggles, and not occasioned by any real apprehensions of what the title of the bill imported, yet he offered two or three clauses which *seemed* to bear very hard upon the dissenters. These were the remarkable occasions of his appearing against them in public; and they who knew his particular reasons for it, might naturally conclude he was either influenced by the party that opposed them, or was

himself an enemy to that liberty of conscience which by the favour of the government they enjoyed. But when his reasons, and the particular part in those debates which he bore, are known, the injustice of both those imputations will sufficiently appear.

Some of the first difficulties he met with in his diocese, were from dissenters taking advantage of the Act of Toleration to break loose, and assume greater liberties than were designed them by the act, or perhaps were justifiable upon any construction of the words of the act. Among other complaints, that *of their setting up schools and private academies, was the hardest to find any remedy for*. As he always proceeded with temper and caution in such matters, he applied to his brethren, the bishops in the south, for their advice; and his friend, Dr. More, Bishop of Norwich, procured him the opinion of some of the best civilians upon it. With respect to one particular academy set up within his diocese, he had the following kind and prudent direction of Archbishop Tilotson, whose letter the reader will not be displeased to have at length.

“ *Lambeth House, June 14, 1692.*

“ My Lord,

“ Yesterday I received your Grace’s letter concerning Mr. Frankland, with the copy

of an address to your Grace against him. Yourself are best judge what is fit to be done in the case, because you have the advantage of enquiring into all the circumstances of it. If my advice can signify any thing, it can only be to tell your Grace what I would do in it, as the case appears to me at this distance. I would send for him, and tell him, that I would never do any thing to infringe the Act of Toleration. But I did not think his case came within it; that there are two things in his case which would hinder me from granting him a license, though he were in all things conformable to the Church of England. First, his setting up a school where a *free-school* is already established; and then, his instructing young men in so public a manner in university learning, which is contrary to his oath to do, if he hath taken a degree in either of our universities; and I doubt, contrary to the bishop's oath to grant him a license for doing of it; so that your Grace does not, in this matter, consider him at all as a dissenter. This I only offer to your Grace as what seems to me the fairest and softest way of ridding your hands of this business. With my humble service to Mrs. Sharp, and my hearty prayers for your health, and long life, to do God and his Church much service, I remain, my Lord, your Grace's very affectionate brother and servant,

“ JO. CANT.”

Another consequence of the Act of Toleration was the dissenting ministers taking upon themselves to perform *parochial offices*, to the grievance and detriment of the clergy of the Church established. In the year 1704 (not long before those debates in the House of Lords, with reference to which these particulars are mentioned), complaints of this kind against the dissenters being renewed, he consulted some of the judges upon this point. His letter to my Lord Chief Justice Holt, with his Lordship's answer, are as follows.

“ *Bishophthorp, May 29, 1704.*

“ My Lord,

“ Having always found you so ready to give me your advice in any matter wherein I have had occasion to consult you, and for which I must ever own my great obligation, I humbly beg leave to propose to you a case wherein I am now concerned. But I do it in such a manner, that if your Lordship do not think proper to declare your opinion in this case, I then do not desire it, but only desire your pardon for my giving you this trouble.

“ I have, my Lord, complaints from some of my clergy, that the non-conformist ministers do them a great deal of prejudice, by taking upon them to marry, bury, christen children, and

church women within their families. And when they have expostulated this matter with them, they affirm, that the Act of Indulgence doth allow them to do all this. What now to do, I am in this case at a loss. I think it hard on one side, that the dissenters should thus encroach on the Established Church, and yet, if I should prosecute them in the ecclesiastical court for these things, when they have the law on their side, that would be ridiculous.

“ As far as I can understand the Act, there is no indulgence granted to the non-conforming ministers, but only for preaching or teaching in the meeting-houses. In one place, indeed, it is expressed, *officiating in any congregation for the exercise of religion allowed or permitted by this act.* But whether *this officiating* for the exercise of religion will extend to marrying, or christening, or burying, or whether such officiating be allowed by this act, I much doubt.

“ I would beseech your Lordship, if you have leisure, to look over this act; and let me have your Lordship’s advice what I am to do. But if I ask an unreasonable thing, I then beseech you to pardon me, as I know you will. I am, with the sincerest respects in the world, and the heartiest wishes for all health and happiness to your Lordship,

“ My Lord, &c.

“ JO. EBOR.”

“ *Bedford Row, June 13, 1704.*

“ My Lord,

“ Your Grace may reasonably accuse me of disobedience to your commands, which I received by your's of the 29th last; which I should have more punctually executed, if the weight of the subject had not obliged me to an exact consideration thereof; which at that time the attendance on my business would not permit me to take.

“ As to the non-conformist's marrying, they may be proceeded against in the ecclesiastical court for marrying without license, or publication of the banns, or for clandestine marriages, which the Act of Toleration doth not indulge them in. But as for christenings, churching of women, and burials, I know not how to deal with them; though that may be fit to be considered upon the stating of the case upon the canon law; which I have attempted to understand upon this occasion, but cannot fix upon any foundation upon which to proceed.

“ I did propose these matters to my brother Powell, and he doth concur with me. If your Grace is pleased *to state any particular question to me upon this answer*, I shall be very desirous and ready to give the best account thereof which I can. For I shall be always

very zealous to demonstrate myself to be, my Lord, your Grace's

“ Most humble and obedient servant,

“ J. HOLT.”

Another inconvenience, which he apprehended as a further consequence of the Act of Indulgence, was, that some people thought to *shelter themselves under it from ecclesiastical censures for not attending the worship of God in any place*. Such there were in his own diocese, and though the act does not in reality destroy or enervate the bishop's power over such delinquents, yet it makes the exercise of it more difficult, and more liable to be evaded than it was before.

Taking now these observations along with us, let us see what part he had in the famous debates about *the Church in danger*, in December, 1705:—“ *He owned the Church to be in danger in one sense, as a Church militant having many enemies, among which he named Atheists, Deists, and Socinians. He added, that we acknowledged as much in all our fast offices, where we prayed God, that he would make us sensible of the great danger we were in by reason of our divisions, &c. And this was the first reason given afterwards in the protest of the dissentients. He feared likewise very ill consequences, from the many academies set up by the dissenters,*

and the liberties that some of them took from the Act of Indulgence.” (And this brought upon him the personal reflection from Lord Wharton, mentioned above, viz. his favouring the seminaries of the non-jurors.) He thereupon took occasion to make three motions. “ One, for putting a stop to the seminaries and schools of the dissenters, and for remedying the laws which were deficient as to the bishop’s power over schools. A second, for explaining the Act of Toleration, that ministers might not be insulted by the dissenters baptizing children, and marrying and burying within their parishes. And a third, that provision might be made to oblige men to go to some Church, or to some meeting, and not to stay at home on the Lord’s day.” Whether he had not good reason to make these motions, after the little satisfaction he had received, and the doubtful answers that were made to his enquiries upon these points, in order to have them put upon some more certain footing, let the impartial reader judge. The first of them was thought so reasonable, that it was insisted upon by the House, and at length carried in part, but not perfectly. As to the question which was put in the House, that all who went about insinuating that the Church was in danger under her Majesty’s administration, were enemies to her person and government (and which was carried), he voted against it; but would enter into no pro-

testation, though earnestly applied to by several lords to do it*.

And here it may not be amiss to insert what passed between him and my Lord Treasurer, about the Church being in danger, a few weeks before this debate came on in the Lords' House. Meeting my Lord Treasurer, October 25, 1705, in the House of Lords, and asking him how he did, his Lordship coldly answered, "*as well as a poor man could be, that was run down by them whom he had endeavoured to oblige.*" And then he turned away. He was not a little surprised with this answer and behaviour, because he could not guess the reason of it. And "the next morning he sent to my Lord to desire leave to wait upon him, which was granted. When I came to him (says he), I told him, that he had much surprised me with his answer to my salutation the day before. And that I was come to know what I had done that should so disoblige him. He told me, that his answer did not particularly relate to me, but that he meant it of '*all of us who made such a cry about the Church's being in danger.*' I told him, he could not charge me with that; for a great

* In the History and Proceedings of the House of Lords, vol. II. p. 161, it is said, *the Archbishop of York and Bishop of Rochester protested afterwards.* But no mention is made of this in the Archbishop's Diary.

many witnesses could testify, that I had declared I did not much apprehend that the Church was in danger, but *that it was a struggle between Whig and Tory, who should be uppermost*; but that I believed *neither of them meant any harm to the Church*. I asked him whether he had heard I had made any bustle about Parliament men. He said, no; but said he had heard I was one of those who made a noise about the Church being in danger, and commended the memorial, and that the Queen had been also told so. After all, we parted very friendly, and he said, he hoped in his distress he might have recourse to me, or words to that effect. He was often, as I thought, in a great concern, and very near weeping."

Within a few days the Bishop of Norwich told the Archbishop, in a visit, November 3, what had been reported to my Lord Treasurer of him, which explained the matter, viz. "that in his passage down the year before, he had said to some of the clergy that met him upon the road, that he apprehended danger to the Church *through the late changes*." And another thing, the bishop told his Grace was reported, though not to the Lord Treasurer, that he had said, "though he formerly advised his son and others against tacking, yet he repented that he ever did so. And if it was to do again,

he would have *them* to vote for it. I told him (says he), I had said something to this purpose, *that if I had known how things would have followed, and that they would have used the Church of England men as they did, I should not have advised as I did.*"

These representations of what he had accidentally dropped in discourse, and the use that was made of them, made him more cautious ever after, how he expressed himself when he spoke of public affairs, particularly when he was met some time after by Mr. —, at Grantham. "*I am sure (says he), I kept such a guard upon myself, that all that I said might be proclaimed at the market cross.*" But to return to the other bill, which chiefly concerned the dissenters.

He had, as was related before, used his endeavours to prevent the tack to the bill of Occasional Conformity; but was withal desirous the bill should pass; and spoke for it. But the point that he laboured was not only a reasonable one, but what all the clergy in England would have been obliged to him for, if he could have carried it. And that was, *indemnifying parish ministers for observing the rubric*, from all such damages as by the Test Act they might stand liable to, for refusing to give the sacrament in any instance wherein the rubric directed repulsion from it. In the debates, December 4,

1702, upon this bill, his Grace applied himself to this point alone. “ *I made a speech (says he) against the clause that was then brought in to oblige all officers to receive the sacrament four times a year, unless a clause might be brought in to indemnify parish ministers for repelling such from the communion, as by the rubric they were empowered to do.*” This was rather securing to the clergy their rights, than opposing the dissenters in the favour they desired. He thought the consciences of the parochial clergy doing their duty in the administration of the sacraments, were as much to be considered, and to be as tenderly treated as the consciences of those who could occasionally conform. And that it was hard the dissenters should be allowed to act inconsistently, in order to obtain the benefits of the law; while the Church ministers, for acting consistently, and according to rule, incurred the penalties of the law; that is, were liable to the damages which any man sustained by being rejected by them from the communion. There were also several others who voted with him for the bills against occasional conformity, who yet were never thought unfavourable to the dissenters. The Duke of Marlborough, who endeavoured to hinder the bringing in of the bill, and *would have possessed the Archbishop with the ill consequences of it*, yet added, *that let it*

come in never so often, he would give his vote for it, but he was afraid it would break us. Allowances should be made for their different way of arguing, since they both voted the same way. One shewed the spirit of a general, the other of a bishop.

Upon another occasion he opposed the granting a privilege to the meeting-houses equal to that of the Church of England, viz. in the Naturalization bill, 1708-9. "He voted against the commitment of it, March 15, and spoke (as did also the Bishops of Carlisle and Chester) for the alteration of that clause where it was enacted, *that it should be sufficient to qualify a man for naturalization, that he received the sacrament in any Protestant congregation.* They would have had it inserted *in any parish church*, but it was carried against them. There were seven bishops more with them, and six against them."

Before we quit this head, which concerns the dissenters, let *his opinion of their baptisms* be added with that of several other bishops. On Easter Tuesday, 1712, when, according to custom, most of the bishops of both provinces dine with the Archbishop of Canterbury, their conversation turned upon the validity of baptism by lay hands.

1712. Tuesday, April 22d. "At eleven o'clock I went to Lambeth. We were in all

thirteen bishops. We had a long discourse about *lay baptism*, which of late hath made such a noise about the town. We all agreed, that baptism by any other person, except lawful ministers, ought as much as may be to be discouraged; nevertheless, whoever was baptized by any other person, and in that baptism the essentials of baptism were preserved, that is, being dipped or sprinkled in the name of the Father, &c. such baptism was valid, and ought not to be repeated."

This indeed is the sense of the Church of England, as will appear to any person who considers the rubrics in the office for private baptism, and compares them with one another, and with the previous questions in the office itself. From all which, laid together, it may be plainly collected, that where *the essentials, matter and form*, have been preserved, though administered by another hand than that of a lawful minister, the baptism shall not be *so much as hypothetically repeated*; yet nevertheless, it is so far condemned and disapproved, as irregular, and uncanonical, that the child or person so baptized shall not be received into the congregation. But the officiating minister must have recourse to the directions of his Ordinary, as in other irregular, and uncommon, and difficult cases. But as our Church hath no where

openly and expressly declared for the validity of lay baptism, or allowed it to be administered by laymen in any case, how extraordinary soever, some handle is left for disputing or speaking doubtfully about her sense of the matter. Therefore, his Grace of Canterbury, finding so many bishops unanimous in their opinion, thought it would be of public service, if they all joined in publishing a declaration of their sentiments, which would appear as a kind of decision of the point, and might help to make the minds of some men more easy, at least to shorten the disputes then raised upon this question. What his Grace of Canterbury did in prosecution of this thought, the following transcripts from the papers wrote by himself will shew. His letter to the Archbishop of York.

“ Lambeth, April 27, 1712.

“ My Lord,

“ In pursuance of the agreement made here by your Grace and the rest of my brethren the bishops, when I had the favour of your good companies on Easter Tuesday, I met yesterday with some of them, and we drew up a paper suitable (as we judged) to the proposal then made. It is short, and plain, and, I hope, inoffensive; and for a beginning, as I

humbly conceive, full enough. I here enclose a copy of it for the perusal of your Grace, and of as many others as your Grace shall think fit to shew it to.

“ I send this declaration unsigned, because we who were present desired first to have the opinions of your Grace and others who were absent, and should be glad to know whether you would have any thing added to it, or altered in it, *for we affect not the vanity of dogmatizing*. I hope for your Grace’s speedy answer (to-morrow, if it may be), because the evil grows, and we have heard of more odd books and sermons since we met, and of an increase of the scrupulous. And your Grace well knows, that the more timely the check is given, the likelier it is (through God’s blessing) to have a good effect. I commend this weighty affair to your Grace’s most serious consideration, and yourself to the protection of the great Shepherd of souls, and remain, my Lord,

“ Your most affectionate brother,

“ CANTERBURY.”

“ A Declaration, &c. [The title is not yet agreed on.]

“ Forasmuch as sundry persons have of late by their preaching, writing, and discourses, possessed the minds of many people with doubts

and scruples about the validity of their baptism, to their great trouble and disquiet, we, the archbishops and bishops whose names are underwritten, have thought it incumbent on us to declare our several opinions, in conformity with the judgments and practice of the Catholic Church, and of the Church of England in particular, that such persons as have already been baptized in or with water, in the name of the Father, Son, and Holy Ghost, ought not to be baptized again. And to prevent any such practice in our respective dioceses, we do require our several clergy, that they presume not to baptize any adult person whatsoever, without giving us timely notice of the same, as the rubric requires.”

To these papers his Grace of York answered the next day in the words following.

“ April 28, 1712. -

“ My Lord,

“ I had the honour of your Grace’s letter (with the Declaration enclosed) the last night. I am entirely of the same sentiments that we all declared we were, when we had the honour to dine with your Grace the last week. But yet, for all that, I can by no means come into the proposal your Grace has now made in your letter ; in that we should all *declare*, under

our hands, the validity of lay baptism. For I am afraid this would be too great an encouragement to the dissenters to go on in their way of irregular uncanonical baptisms.

“ I have, as your Grace desired me, communicated this matter to three* of our brethren, the bishops, and we have had a full discourse about it, and we are all of the same opinion that I now represented.

“ I am, with all sincere respects, and hearty wishes of health and happiness to your Grace,

“ Your Grace’s most faithful friend

“ And humble servant,

“ JO. EBOR.”

It appears from hence that he was of opinion, that to leave the question as much undecided, as it is left in the public offices and canons of the Church, was a good security to discipline, and that an open declaration in favour of the dissenters’ baptisms, might prove *inconvenient* from the bad use that might be made of it.

The account of this matter is the more fully set down here, because Bishop Burnet has not represented it in a favourable light with respect to Archbishop Sharp. His words are these (Hist. of his own Times, vol. II. p. 605).

* These were, Chester, Exeter, and St. David’s.

“ The bishops thought it necessary to put a stop to this new and extravagant doctrine (viz. the invalidity of lay baptism), *so a declaration was agreed to*, first, against the irregularity of all baptism by persons who were not in holy orders, but that yet, according to the practice of the primitive Church, and the constant usage of the Church of England, no baptism in or with water, in the name of the Father, Son, and Holy Ghost, ought to be reiterated. *The Archbishop of York first agreed to this. So it was resolved to publish it in the names of all the bishops of England; but he was prevailed on to change his mind, and refused to sign it*, pretending that this would encourage irregular baptism.”

Whosoever reads this passage, will be apt to take for granted, *that the Archbishop of York first agreed to the declaration; that upon his agreeing thereto, it was resolved to publish it*, and that he afterwards *changed his mind, and refused to sign it*. Whereas, though the *resolution to publish* such a declaration was founded on his agreement with the rest of the bishops in their judgment upon the validity of lay baptisms, yet he was not apprised of any *such resolution*, till the Archbishop of Canterbury communicated it to him, and then he disapproved of it. My Lord of Canterbury does indeed mention in his letter, a proposition that was made at Lambeth

to this effect. But it appears by Archbishop Sharp's answer, that although he remembered well the conference they had on that subject of lay baptism, yet *this proposal of signing a declaration upon it, was new to him* and unexpected, as it seems likewise to have been with the three bishops, to whom he shewed my Lord of Canterbury's letter. His minutes of his discourse with them upon it on Monday, April 28, is this.

“About six o'clock this evening, came in the Bishops of Chester, and of Exeter, and of St. David's, who staid here till nine o'clock. We had a great deal of talk about the Archbishop of Canterbury's proposal, in a letter he had wrote to me, that we should sign a declaration of our judgments, that all persons who were baptized with water in the name of the Father, Son, and Holy Ghost, their baptism ought not to be repeated by whomsoever they were baptized. They were all of opinion, and so was I, that it was not proper for us to make such a declaration under our hands, for that it would too much encourage the irregular baptisms of the dissenters. And accordingly, after they were gone, I wrote a letter to my Lord Archbishop to the same purpose; a copy of which letter I keep.”

Such a declaration was nevertheless offered to the Convocation afterwards, but it was laid

aside in the Lower House. And my Lord Treasurer, on May the 9th, spoke to him *about the Queen's writing a letter, to stop the disturbances raised by lay baptism.* But he does not seem to have given any encouragement to that motion. He had, however, a great deal of talk with Mr. Lawrence upon that subject, when he came the day following, May 10, to present him with his answer to the Bishop of St. Asaph's treatise upon that argument.

With the same caution that he used in this case, he acted in another, which is not foreign to the present subject, especially as it was grounded upon some words that he spoke in the debates concerning occasional conformity. He had said, it seems, on that occasion, *that if he were abroad, he would willingly communicate with the Protestant Churches, where he should happen to be.* Monsieur de la Mothe, a French minister at London, who was collecting passages from the several sermons preached in London on the day when the *Orange brief* was read, with a design to print them, in order to shew what a fraternal tenderness was on that occasion expressed by the ministers of the Church of England towards those poor Protestant sufferers, and by that means to lessen the prejudice which foreign Churches may be under in relation to our opinion of them and concern for them;

thought it would be of moment to give an account of these words which the Archbishop had used in the House of Lords, as before recited. But because it was not so decent to do it without his permission, M. de la Mothe desired Dr. Atterbury to propose his design to him, and desire his pleasure therein. The doctor did so, giving the words as above cited, and the Archbishop answered him thus.

“ May 31, 1704.

“ Good Mr. Archdeacon,

“ I had the favour of your's by the last post, and I thank you for it. I must own, that I did in the House of Lords, when the debate was about the bill of occasional conformity, express myself to the same purpose as you have set down in your letter. And truly, I spoke my hearty sense, and if what I said was published to all the world, I should not retract it. But if my consent be asked about the publishing of it, I must needs say (for reasons you very well know), that I cannot readily give it. And therefore I shall take it kindly of M. de la Mothe, if he mention not my name at all upon this occasion.

“ I am, &c.

“ JO. EBOR.”

No doubt can be made but his reason for this was the ill use that would have been made of such a concession by our dissenters at home; and perhaps by some others too, who, *not considering the difference there is between the case of the Protestant Churches abroad, and our dissenting congregations here in England*, might argue loosely from it, that he could, in point of conscience, were that only considered, *occasionally conform* to the Presbyterian way of worship in our meeting-houses; which, as it was far from his thoughts when he made the aforesaid declaration, he prudently endeavoured to keep it out of other people's thoughts too, by not consenting to the publication of those words, unless he had also added an explanation of them, with respect to our non-conformists at home.

What it was that he said in the House of Lords by way of comparison between the usage of Protestants abroad in Roman Catholic countries, and our treatment of the English Roman Catholics at home, which could occasion a scandalous passage in a French book printed at Brussels or Antwerp in 1703, and styled *Les Interests de l'Angleterre mal-entendus dans la Guerre presente*; or whether he spoke any thing at all that might be a foundation for the calumny, is quite uncertain. Only thus

much is plain, that that passage is either a mere fiction, or a gross misrepresentation. It stands in the 294th page of the Amsterdam edition, in these words:—" Avec quelle insolence les principaux d'entre eux ne parlerent ils pas contre My Lord Archvêque d'York, quand ce digne prelat en opinant dans la chambre haute sur la maniere dont nous en devons user avec nos Catholiques, eut représenté vivement, que le government d'Angleterre étoit obligé à de plus grands egards envers leurs sujets Catholiques, que ceux qui doivent avoir les souverains Catholiques envers leurs sujets Protestants? Puisque nos Catholiques sont ceux de nos compatriotes qui n'ont point voulu quitter l'ancienne religion établie dans le Pays, au lieu que les Protestants des états Catholiques y en ont introduit une nouvelle*.

To understand this passage, the reader should

* " With what insolence (says he) did the leading men among them exclaim against the Archbishop of York, when that worthy prelate, in giving his opinion in the House of Peers about the manner in which we ought to treat our Catholics, had clearly shewn, that the English government was under an obligation to pay more regard to its Catholic subjects, than Catholic kings abroad are to their Protestant subjects? Since our Catholics are such of our natives as would never renounce the *ancient* religion that was established in the country, whereas the Protestants in the Roman Catholic dominions have introduced a *new* religion there."

be acquainted, that the book out of which it is taken is pretended to be translated from an English manuscript, with this title*, *The Interests of England mistaken in the present War*; and therefore the author expresses himself as in the person, or under the character of an Englishman, though he manifestly appears to be a papist and a jacobite, but a man of shrewd sense and thorough insight into the affairs of these kingdoms. But it happened that he had little insight into the Archbishop's character or principles, for otherwise he never would have put such an assertion, *backed with such a piece of*

* The character of this book and its author is given by Monsieur Le Clerk, in a letter to the Archbishop from Amsterdam, April 29, 1704, in these words.

“Intelligo insilens tuis in manus tuas incidipe virulentam satyram, Gallice conscriptam, non in Anglicam tantum et Belgicam gentem sed et in te quoque privatim. Satyrici illius libelli, quoniam videris ubi editus sit, et a quo nescire, scito autorem esse pontificium, et nisi vehementer fallor, Anglum ex eis qui aut Duaci aut in Belgio Pontificio alibi degunt et in Gallia ab aliquot annis viscerent. Libellus vero editus est Antwerpiae aut Bruscellis ut facile intelligunt characterum periti, utque ostendit summa quae hic est raritas exemplarium cum in hisce provinciis nullo modo comparari possint. Quod in inscriptione dicitur esse editus a Georgio Galleto qui fuit ante hac prefectus typographiae Huguetanorum, id planè falsum est; nec Galletus officinam ullam hic habet aut libros ullos vendit. Nomen ejus malique est adhibitum ut tegetetur locus ubi libellus est editus.”

false reasoning, into his mouth; who thought quite the reverse of what this man would have him speak, as appears in all his writings in the Romish controversy, viz. *That the Roman religion, as it is now professed, was not the ancient religion of this country, nor the Protestant religion a new one, either here or in foreign kingdoms, but the old one, and the true one, such as it was before it was corrupted by the innovations and superstitions of Rome.* However, it helped to serve the writer's end, to charge this inconsistency upon him. And it is manifest, from another passage in the preface to the same book (which shall be considered in its proper place), that the author of it had a prejudice against him. The book was extremely scarce, and rarely any copies of it to be met with here. It was conveyed from Brussels, where it was printed, first into Holland; and there Dr. Cockburn, who gave him the first account of it, obtained the perusal of it with great difficulty. And afterwards a few of the impression were transmitted into England.

The author of Dr. Radcliffe's Life*, whoever he was, either knew as little of the Archbishop as the French writer, or was as much disposed to invent, when he fathered upon him *a Letter to*

* Published after the Archbishop's death, in 1716, and printed by Curll.

Dr. Radcliffe about Dr. Sacheverell, supposed to be wrote 1709-10, and while the trial was yet depending. For, besides that neither the sentiments nor diction in that letter resemble those of the Archbishop's, there are things spoken of him which prove the whole piece spurious, as "*his recovery just before by the doctor's skill*," whereas he had been in good health all that winter; and "*his applauding Dr. Ratcliffe's care in making interest for Dr. Sacheverell, and preferring the divine's for his bail before the duke's*." Whereas he would have so little concern in Dr. Sacheverell's affair before his trial, "*that he refused to peruse his answer to the articles of impeachment which the Doctor himself brought him, and would have shewed him. But he told him, that upon his trial he could do him no favour, but he would do him all right and justice that he could*."

And then what follows in the aforesaid pretended letter of his, *fearing that they should not have power enough to give a parliamentary sanction to the doctrines, he (Dr. Sacheverell) had preached*, is something so unlikely to be credited, that it needs no refutation.

But to return from these digressions to the consideration of points more material. The next that offers itself is his *Patronage of the Episcopal clergy in Scotland*.

Anciently the Archbishops of York asserted

their *jurisdiction in that kingdom*, and did actually exercise it over some sees, particularly St. Andrew's, Glasgow, Candida, Cassa*, and all on the south side of Edinburgh Frith, once the dominions of the kings of Northumberland. The whole plea, indeed, is now quite out of doors, as to any pretence of jurisdiction or primacy. But Archbishop Sharp may be said to have revived the old claim in one respect, that he professed to be the patron and friend of the episcopal clergy, and suffered himself to be their resort in their difficulties and distresses, as much as if they had yet been a part of his provincial charge. And they, on the other hand, did as readily and naturally apply themselves to him, as if he had been their primate. He was hardly settled in his province before he received a remonstrance from them of their declining state after the Revolution. In June, 1693, at their general convention at Edinburgh,

* See Polydore Virgil. lib. 13. Spelman's Councils, tom. ii. p. 5. Appendix to the Scotch History. Library by Nicholson. Liberty and Independency of the kingdom of Scotland asserted. Edinburgh, 1702. Drake's Antiquities of York, 538, 539.

Original charter of Thomas, the first Archbishop of York, preserved in the Archives of the Church of Durham. Whereby he assigns *Tevegetedale* to the Church of Durham, and sends his chrism to Glasgow, as an ordinary acknowledged act of jurisdiction.

they drew up a memorial or petition, which they sent him, setting forth *the abolition of episcopacy in the first session of King William's Parliament in Scotland, and the establishment of Presbyterian government in the second or next session, and the ejections of several of the episcopal clergy in all parts of the kingdom consequent upon it, that is, by virtue of the powers granted to Presbyterian judicatories; and their own apprehensions of greater persecutions still, notwithstanding they had acknowledged their Majesties' government, professed their own fidelity, and implored their royal protection, and had likewise received repeated assurances of it from their Majesties.* And concluding with these words: —“ Wherefore, in this time of our great distress, our only refuge next to the Divine Providence and their Majesties' innate goodness and justice, is to have recourse to your Grace and the reverend clergy of the Church of England, to which we are the rather encouraged, from the former experience we have of your religious and charitable concern for this afflicted and distressed Church. We have good ground to believe, that it is far from their Majesties' gracious inclinations to allow of any thing that may be grievous or straightening to their loyal subjects; and however our enemies may take occasion to asperse and misrepresent us, yet we can assure your Grace we are still the same we have

hitherto professed ourselves to be, and are resolved, whatever measures we meet with, to persist in our loyalty and fidelity to their Majesties, and will be ready to give such further proofs thereof as are consequential to our former professions, and proper to persons of our character and circumstances. We do therefore humbly entreat that your Grace and the reverend clergy of the Church of England may be pleased seriously to consider our present case, and to represent the same to their Majesties; so as yet we may subsist under the favourable influences of their royal protection, and our feared ruin and desolation may be prevented.

“ That God may long preserve your Grace, and the Church of England in that order, peace, and lustre wherewith he hath blessed you, is, and shall be, the earnest prayer of your’s, &c.

“ Signed in our name, and at the appointment of our meeting, by William Demune Præses—
Park Cl.”

The next winter, when he came to London, he applied himself to some of the chief of the Scotch nobility to use their endeavours for procuring some more favourable measures to be taken with the episcopal party. Duke Hamilton told him plainly, (12th February, 1693-4) “ *that all that could be done for the Scotch clergy was to get the king to recommend it to the parliament of Scotland to give*

new and clear and express terms of coming in to the clergy, and that they might not be remitted to the general assembly. But to think of excusing them from the assurance was not a thing to be thought of, for that was what the parliament of Scotland would never consent to take off; though he owned the clergy of Scotland never used to be hampered with such oaths, nor had it been enjoined them till the last sessions of parliament, though it was put upon persons holding offices of trust before that time."

When he found there was no room or likelihood of doing them better service than by procuring collections for their relief at present, he became their solicitor in this respect, and his kindness this way contributed very much to their support. Their poverty became so great, and their condition so low towards the latter end of King William's reign, that there was a scheme laid for a public collection of charity for them throughout England; but how that was defeated may be seen by a letter of Bishop Burnet to the Archbishop in the following words.

" May it please your Grace,

" Your Grace's tender and compassionate letter is as suitable to your own goodness as to the charity of the Earl of Thanet to have given the rise to it. I have transmitted it to my Lord of Canterbury with what I could suggest

on so sad a subject. My Lord, I know that the miseries are great even to the last extremities in Scotland. I spoke to the *ministers of state for that kingdom*, and pressed that an address might be made to the King for receiving the charities of well-minded people here, but, to my great amazement, I found they were cold to the motion; they lessened the thing, and what through *a senseless piece of national pride*; what because they fancied an ill use might be made of confessing they were in such extremities.—I found nothing could then be done by them, so I thought it became me to send my charity thither. I sent £200, the half of which I ordered to be distributed by Mr. Chateris among the episcopal clergy and their widows. I take my share in the sense your Grace has of this great calamity which lies on my country, as I pray God to make them sensible of their sins, by which they have drawn this on themselves, which will be followed by heavier ones, both on them and us if we do not repent. I am, with great duty and a profound respect, my Lord,

“ Your Grace’s most humble and

“ most obedient servant,

G. SARUM.”

“ *Salisbury, 17th June, 1699.*”

But in the beginning of the late queen’s reign, when the design of uniting the two kingdoms

was first agitated, there seemed a fairer prospect of making some provision, or at least obtaining some security for the episcopal clergy. And accordingly they themselves were early in their address to the Queen *to desire her Majesty to take them into her royal protection, and to give liberty to such parishes where all or most of the heretors or inhabitants were of the episcopal communion, to call, place, and give benefices to ministers of their own principles; which the Presbyterians themselves would have no reason to complain of, for if the plurality they pretended to was true, by this act of grace, neither their churches nor their benefices were in hazard.* There seemed to be nothing unreasonable in this request, though it was more than they expected would be granted: however, if they could but obtain a toleration at present, as a term of the union of the two kingdoms, it would satisfy them very well, for they had hopes, as the Archbishop learnt from Drs. Scott and Skene, who were employed by them to present their address, *that if they had a toleration then it might not hereafter be difficult to obtain of the parliament of Great Britain to re-establish episcopacy.* Accordingly, he whose wishes might be as great as theirs, though his expectations less, took an opportunity, when the treaty of union was in some forwardness, to discourse with the

Queen about the episcopal clergy. *He told her he should willingly come into the union, for he had no objection against the articles that he had seen, provided there was no detriment to the Church or constitution thereby. But he was afraid of two things; first, that they would not grant a toleration for the episcopal communion in that kingdom, considering that we had allowed a toleration here to their Kirk. She said that she had given orders to her commissioners in Scotland to propose this, and to get it settled; but she forbid him to make mention of this. The second thing he objected against was—the fear he had they would impose such oaths on her Majesty and her successors, that they could not give consent to the alteration of Church government if ever the parliament of Great Britain should think it convenient. She said she knew not of any such oaths that would be put upon her: she further said that she meant to take care that as there was a new security to be given to the Kirk of Scotland, so she meant there should be an act for securing the Church of England.*

But when the bill for the further security of the Church of England upon the union with Scotland was brought into the House of Peers by the Archbishop of Canterbury, January the 31st. following, he made a strong objection to it upon account of the test act not being continued as well as the act of uniformity, and so he found did

some others of the Lords who seemed surprised at this concession. And the Queen having that night sent a page of the back stairs late to him to order him to attend her at Kensington the next morning, "*he perceived her business was to persuade him to vote for the bill that my Lord of Canterbury had brought in, which within two days was to be read a second time. I told her (says he) that I had seen the bill, and that some of the Lords made a wonder that the test act was not mentioned in that bill to be continued as well as the act of uniformity, and that I believed several of the Lords would insist upon it that it should be, and that I was of the same mind. I told her (upon occasion of her saying that she knew some Lords, viz. Lords Nottingham, Rochester, &c. who would take any occasion of opposing that bill because they were against the union, I say I told her) that it was a Whig lord that first made that objection to me. She asked me who it was. I stuck a little, but she solemnly promised me she would not discover it to any body; upon that I told her it was my Lord Scarborough, who, I assured her, was, at the first time the union was treated of, the most zealous man for it of any of the Lords.*" But, however, when this came to be debated, February 3rd, though the point was insisted on that the test act should be particularly expressed in the bill, yet it was carried in the negative by a great majority. He spoke in this debate, and the next day

entered his protestation *. *Five of the bishop's bench were with him, twelve against him.*

And when the Scotch act of pacification was to be committed, he again spoke, and opposed it, *though he had none of the bishops with him except London, Bath and Wells, and St. Asaph, the last of which, namely Dr. Beveridge, had been consulting with him, and desired him to consider of the point, whether the bishops of the Church of England could lawfully give their vote in parliament for the Scotch ratification, viz. "an act of the Scotch parliament for securing the Protestant religion, and Presbyterian government, to be ratified and confirmed and approved by her Majesty with and by the authority of the parliament in England, as a term of the union; when in this act it is declared that the Scotch religion is the true Protestant religion, and that the Presbyterian government is necessary. So that although this be only a Scotch act, yet the question was, whether the ratifying it would not make it an English act."* Some thought that by ratifying it could be meant no more, but that thereby the Queen and parliament of England should give the fullest assurance, that they would for ever after the union allow this Scotch act to have the force

* This protest may be seen in the History and Proceedings of the House of Lords, Vol. ii. p. 165.

of a law within the present bounds of Scotland, although the rest of Great Britain should be under another law as to the same matter; and not that it implied any declaration of their assent to or approbation of the Scotch discipline, or form of Church government. But however that was, such ratification *cut off all the hopes of the episcopal clergy*, who were to entertain no further thoughts of the restoration of their ancient government. His Grace had told the Queen “*he could not vote for this ratification, though he should not vote against any of the articles.*” And he was as good as his word, March 3rd, when this bill was committed.

From this time the usage of the episcopal clergy grew yearly more grievous to them; and consequently their complaints and remonstrances more frequent and lamentable. When he read to her Majesty the letters of the Bishops of Edinburgh and Aberdeen, she would at one time say, that “*she could not think things were so bad as they were represented;*” at another, “*that they must have patience, for all would do well in Scotland*.*” At last it came to a downright *persecution*, and when the account of it came to him then in Yorkshire, he enclosed it in a letter of

* “*That she would consider of that matter, and advise with her ministers.*” These were the answers she gave him.

his own, to her Majesty; which was a trouble he seldom gave her but when he judged the importance of the business required it.

“ May it please your Majesty,

“ I humbly beseech your Majesty of your abundant goodness, of which I have had a great deal of experience, to pardon the boldness I now take of sending you a transcript (for the original is not so legible) of a letter I received the last Saturday from the Bishop of Edinburgh. It is his earnest desire that I should communicate the contents of it to your Majesty; and I have no other means of doing that (now that your Majesty is at Windsor) than in the way that I now take. I have the more reason to hope your Majesty will pardon this confidence in me in regard you have been graciously pleased to grant me your permission to write to you when I have any matter of importance to lay before you, and indeed I take this to be such a matter; and I dare say your Majesty will think so if you will please to give yourself the trouble of perusing the Bishop's letter.

“ As to what orders your Majesty will please to give with relation to this affair of the distressed clergy of Scotland, it is not for me to offer any thing; that must be left to your Majesty's own wisdom and goodness after you have considered

the case, and I dare say you will do that which, all things put together, you judge to be best and fittest. I am only concerned to pray most heartily to God (*and I assure your Majesty I daily do it*) that he would direct all your counsels, and prosper all your affairs both at home and abroad, and make your reign long and happy and glorious, and as much as is possible easy to yourself and all your subjects.

“ I am, madam,

“ With the greatest honour, esteem, and affection,

“ Your Majesty’s

“ Most faithful and dutiful subject,

“ JO. EBOR.”

“ *August 10, 1708.*”

And when he came to town the winter following “ *he spoke earnestly to her Majesty about the episcopal clergy. He told her what my Lord — had acquainted him with, concerning a conversation he had with Sir James S——t, who had declared to him that the measures were wrong, but he must obey them. The Queen answered, why did he then advise those measures?*”

He then undertook to concert matters with my Lord Marr, about getting the Queen’s letter under the signet to Sir James S——t, to oblige him to suspend the prosecution of the late orders till further directions were given.

In February following “ *he told her Majesty of the Judge Advocate’s circular letter for shutting up all the episcopal meeting houses ; in which letter he said he had orders from the Queen, under her hand and seal, to do this.* The Queen said it was not true. Hereupon he charged it again upon her conscience with some warmth, to take care to put a stop to these persecutions ; and she answered she would take care of them as fast as she could.”

He applied himself by letter to the Duke of Queensbury, May 1st, 1709, “ praying him to use his best interest with the Queen for them, who (says he) I am sure is most ready to come into any methods that can be proposed for their ease and relief ; and if they be not made more easy I am sure the fault will not lie at her door.”

Such repeated applications both to her Majesty and the nobility of Scotland had good effect this year, for there followed a cessation of those severities against the episcopal clergy with which they had been before treated. In testimony of which here follows a letter which he received in the latter end of the same year.

“ May it please your Grace,

“ This new trouble is occasioned by a letter I have from the clergy of the diocese

of Aberdeen, to let your Grace understand, that to their great joy and satisfaction, the names of such of them as were enrolled to be prosecuted before the Justiciary Court, were scored out, and none of them met with any trouble from the late circuit. The diverting of which danger, though by secret influence from court, being, as they firmly believe, and I think very justly, the *happy effect of your Grace's friendly endeavours*, they have desired me in their names to return to your Grace their humble and hearty thanks for your great favour and goodness in interposing so seasonably and successfully in their behalf, of which they are exceedingly sensible.

“ They have also informed me, that the thoughts of addressing *for a toleration* are laid aside till we have peace abroad, and a new parliament at home. And that they are willing to rest satisfied with what they feel of her Majesty's gracious protection, renewed from time to time by secret influences, till a favourable opportunity offer for expecting a more public confirmation of it.

“ They heartily wish and pray it may please God long to preserve your Grace in health and prosperity, for the continued comfort of your own clergy, and the charitable relief of those

who are in distress. And this in a more particular manner is the earnest petition of,

“ My Lord,

“ Your Grace’s most humble and

“ obedient son and servant,

“ J. A. GORDON.”

“ *Havnbj, Oct. 25, 1709.*”

The deliverance of the episcopal clergy, mentioned in the former part of the letter, was certainly a great one, and very seasonable, if their apprehensions of the treatment that was designed them in the northern circuits were well grounded; for in the beginning of August the same summer the Bishop of Edinburgh in a letter to the Archbishop has these words:—

“ I am certainly informed that our lords of the Justiciary have sent up to the court for instructions how to behave in the next circuits with respect to the episcopal clergy. If the return to this be unfavourable, and recommend not much moderation, we shall be entirely ruined, *for the judges who go to the northern circuits are such*, that unless some bonds be laid upon them we can expect no kind of quarter, and it is into their division that by far the greatest part of our clergy do fall. We still complain, and justly too, that we are sentenced and punished for what the law does not require;

and were it not very just to supersede any further proceeding against us until the sitting of the parliament, that they may take the case into their consideration, and *by a clear plain law let us know our obligations?*"

But in another respect he was more successful, viz. in procuring her Majesty's private bounty towards them, especially to this Bishop of Edinburgh and that of Aberdeen. There was but one surviving archbishop in Scotland, viz. Dr. John Paterson, Archbishop of Glasgow, burthened with age and infirmities, eleven children, and great poverty. There was procured him a grant of £300 per annum out of the rents of his archbishopric during his life, and £200 per annum for fifteen years more, towards the support and maintenance of his children. Among the inferior clergy he procured for Dr. Scott, the episcopal clergy's agent at court, a pension of eighty guineas per annum: and did his best offices with her Majesty that what remained undisposed of, of the Bishop's rents should be distributed among them. In short, he shewed himself in all respects as tender of them as their own circumstances *and those of the times would permit.*

And here we may pass over to some other instances of his compassion and care of poor distressed Protestants, viz. those in foreign parts. When he was applied to in King Wil-

liam's reign, by the agents of the *Churches of the Palatinate*, and the state of those Churches was laid before him, he wrote to his Grace of Canterbury, to assure him, "*of his own readiness to do his part, for the giving a supply for those Churches, whenever the King or his Grace should direct the method.*" Having no answer to this, he wrote next to the Bishop of London, who "*he hoped would take the case into his consideration, and advise with my Lord of Canterbury, and petition the King for a brief or order for a private collection among the clergy. For his own part, he was heartily sorry for their condition, and would, with all his soul, give them all the assistance he could towards their relief.*" Which he did afterwards.

King William and Queen Mary had granted all their reign, or at least for many years of it, a pension of 425*l.* to the *Vaudois*, in Germany. But this pension having been struck off when he came to be made the Queen's almoner, he put into her Majesty's hands a memorial of the pensions that had been paid in the late reign, among which he set down this to the *Vaudois*; but this taking no effect, and the *Vaudois* ministers pressing for the pension and the arrears, he wrote to my Lord Treasurer as the properest person to be applied to.

"Give me leave (says he) to lay a matter before you, which I think I am bound to con-

cern myself in, and your Lordship also, who made me the Queen's almoner. I have received since I came to York two letters from *the Vau-
dois ministers* in German, wherein they set forth their great necessities, and earnestly petition for the continuance of that pension, which was settled upon them by King William and Queen Mary in 1689. The first of these I have sent up to Dr. Battle, the sub-almoner, and desired him to move the Queen on their behalf. The other I now make bold to send to your Lordship, together with a memorial of the state of these poor people, which I received this last week from Sir John Chardin. I find that those ministers and schoolmasters, who are upon the Dutch establishment receive their pensions duly and are well maintained. Sure, then, my Lord, those that the Crown of England promised to provide for, should not be quite abandoned," &c. He obtained at last a promise from her Majesty, that this matter should be taken care of.

But when the treaty of peace was on foot in the year 1709, then was the season for doing true service to the foreign Protestants; and he was not wanting to remind either her Majesty or her ministers of it. As, May 1, 1709: "*In the evening, at the Queen's appointment, I waited on her Majesty I pressed heartily, that now, in*

the treaty of peace that is on foot, her Majesty would order her plenipotentiaries to concern themselves about the Protestant religion, both in France, the Palatinate, the Vaudois, Silesia, &c. that we might not be served as we were at the great treaty of Berwick. She saith, over and over again, that she will take care of that matter. I recommended to her, that she should send a minister on purpose, who would be content with a very small salary, and such a one as understood the state of the Protestants abroad. And that it should be his business to manage that affair. I prevailed with her, that she would receive a memorial about the state of religion in foreign parts, which Mr. Hales is preparing, and which the Bishop of Ely has promised to present; and to solicit the Queen and my Lord Treasurer about that affair."

To omit the kind assistance he gave to the distressed *Greek Churches* in Armenia and Egypt, in 1706, when the Armenian bishops came over to solicit a contribution in England, for printing bibles and some other books in the Armenian language and character, and were recommended by him to the Queen; and, in 1713, when Arsenius, Archbishop of Thebais, in Egypt, came over with Greek letters to the Queen, and to himself, which were afterwards translated and published by M. La Roche, in his *Memoirs of Literature*, as also to omit the share he had in procuring the settlement of an

English Church at Rotterdam; we shall proceed to give an account of a much nobler work he was engaged in with regard to the foreign Protestant Churches, and that was *the introduction of the Liturgy of the Church of England into the kingdom of Prussia*. An account whereof may be the more acceptable, because none of the steps taken therein have been as yet made public.

The Protestant subjects of the kingdom of Prussia consist partly of Lutherans, and partly of Calvinists; which latter call themselves *the Reformed*; the word Calvinist being disagreeable to them, and consequently used only by such as are not their friends.

Frederick King of Prussia had found it necessary, for the greater solemnity of his coronation, in 1700, to give the title of bishops to two of the chief of his clergy, the one a Lutheran, the other a reformed. The former died soon after; whereupon the other, viz. Dr. Ursinus, continued without a colleague, and with the title of bishop. Since that time the king, who was a lover of order and decency, conceived a design of *uniting the two different communions in his kingdom*, the Lutherans and the reformed, in one public form of worship. And as he had a great respect for the English nation and Church, and held a good opinion of the Liturgy of the

Church of England, he thought *that* might be the most proper medium wherein both parties might meet*. The person who, above all others, was instrumental in creating in the king a favourable opinion of the discipline and Liturgy of the English Church, and in improving his good dispositions to establish them in his own realm, was Dr. Daniel Ernestus Jablouski, a man of great credit and worth, *first chaplain* to the King of Prussia, and *superintendent or senior* †

* Neque vel Lutherani nostros vel nostratis homines Lutheranorum ritus admissuri sunt: sed utrique in Ecclesiæ Anglicanæ Liturgiâ commodissime convenire atque uniri possent.—Epist. Jablouski.

† Under the title of *seniors*, that Church has kept up a character very much resembling that of our bishops. Since the *seniors* received a *second ordination*, or consecration to their office, and none can be received into the ministry but by *imposition of their hands*, which character and power they are said to have derived from a certain bishop, who turned Protestant about or soon after the time of J. Huss. And they themselves are supposed to be the remains of the Hussites, driven out of Bohemia by the Emperors, and refuged chiefly in the proper estate of King Stanislaus. There were usually three or four of this order in Poland. But at this time Dr. Jablouski had no colleague; at least he was the only *senior* remaining in Upper Poland. Extract of his letter to Mr. Ayerst, 18th June, 1712, N.S. “Prodie Julii et sequentibus, B. C. D. Synodum celebrabimus de stabiliendâ religionis evangelicæ in Poloniâ securitate deliberatori. Quo tempore simul *duo seniores sive episcopi pro successione conservandâ ordinabuntur*. Etenim a pluribus annis nullus in Poloniâ majore minister ob senioris

of the Protestant Church in Poland. This gentleman had received very great prejudices in his youth against the Church of England, from those among whom he was educated. But after he had been twice in England, and had spent some time in Oxford, and in the conversation of our English divines, and in the study of our Liturgy and Church discipline, he became not only reconciled to them, but an admirer of our ecclesiastical constitution; and took all opportunities ever after, of expressing his friendship and zeal for the English Liturgy and ceremonies*.

Dr. Ursinus was likewise very well inclined to a conformity in worship and discipline to that of the Church of England; but if he did not prosecute the design with a warmth and zeal equal to Jablouski's, it may be imputed to his never having seen the Church of England in her own beauties and proper dress as the other had.

absentiam ordinatus fuit. Sed duos ego hinc Berolini ordinatos in Poloniam misi." See more in Dr. Jablouski's Reflections on Monsieur Bonet's letter, Appendix II. No XII.

* His own account of his sentiments of the Church of England, and how he came by them is worth the reader's perusal. It was wrote in a letter to Dr. Nicholls, in 1708 (which will be found in the Appendix).

By the advice principally of these two, the King ordered the English Liturgy to be translated into high Dutch, which was done at his University of Frankfort upon the Oder, where the professors in general were friends to the Church of England. This done, he ordered his bishop, Dr. Ursinus, to write a letter in his name to the Archbishop of Canterbury, to acquaint him with what had been, and what was intended to be done; and to ask his Grace's advice about it. The scheme was, if the King's intentions met with due reception and *encouragement from England*, which it was presumed could not fail, to have introduced the Liturgy first into the King's own chapel, and the cathedral church; and to leave it free for the other Churches to follow the example; and the time prefixed for this introduction was the first Sunday in Advent, 1706. It was indeed debated in the *King's Consistory* (called so because a privy counsellor always *sits with*, yet presides over the Divines), whether the English Liturgy should be used, or a new one composed in imitation of it, several objecting, that they should seem to acknowledge a dependance on the Church of England, by wholly using her service; upon which some divines, who were not willing the design should miscarry, drew up a formulary,

which was put in manuscript into the hands of the King's bishop.

A letter was wrote by Dr. Ursinus to his Grace of Canterbury, pursuant to the King's directions. And two copies of the high Dutch version of the English Liturgy were sent along with it; one for her Majesty the Queen, the other for his Grace. And orders were given to form a correspondence between the principal of the clergy of both courts, about the means of promoting the design. The letter and the copies were put into the hands either of *Baron Spanheim*, or *M. Bonet*, the King's ministers. Her Majesty, upon the receipt of her copy, ordered my *Lord Raby*, her minister at the Court of Prussia, to return her thanks to the King and to the bishop, which was done. But it unfortunately happened, that the other copy, and the letter, which were designed for the Archbishop of Canterbury, by some neglect or mistake, were not delivered to him; and the more unfortunately, because they were assured at Berlin, that they had been delivered to him by Mr. Knyster, a subject of the King of Prussia, then in England. This occasioned some disgust; and the king having often asked Dr. Ursinus, *what answer the Archbishop had given to his letter*, greatly wondered, when the bishop,

after some time, continued to reply, that as yet none had been sent*. And it was thought,

* “Restabat tamen ecclesiæ reformatæ una triumphæ materies quum temporum opportunitas obtulit quam tamen Archiepiscopus noster prænimia cunctatione, timiditate vel abundante et intempestivâ cautelâ neglexit. Intelligo episcoporum in Borussia ordinationem juxta ecclesiæ Anglicanæ exemplar quam Rex Borus religionis reformatæ juxta ac literatorum Fautor per regna sua celebrari voluit, et eâ de causâ virum tum eruditione tum pietate eximium *D. Ernestum Grabe* in Angliam transmisit in episcopum juxta ritus ecclesiæ Anglicanæ ordinandum. Verum Archiepiscopus adeo non avidè occasionem oblatam arripuit, ut frigide et oscilanter rem momenti gravissimi curaret, et difficultatibus et causationibus interjectis ita in longum petra-scit et aliquando tandem irrita prorsus interciderit. *Godw. de Præsul. cont. per. D. Richardson*, p. 167.” It appears, from this passage, that the learned writer of it had not a full and complete information of the affair upon which this remark concerning the Archbishop’s conduct is formed. If Dr. Grabe had been sent over in order to obtain a consecration here, it is strange no mention should be made of it in any of the letters and papers which came afterwards into the hands of Archbishop Sharp, relating to this overture of his Prussian Majesty. Besides, the first application that was made to his Grace of Canterbury by Dr. Ursinus, was not till the year 1705; whereas Dr. Grabe was settled at Oxford in 1697, as appears by his dedicatory epistle in the first volume of his *Spieelegium Patrum*, printed there 1698. And this was before his Prussian Majesty was crowned, or took the title of King upon him, which was not till 1700. And it was after that time this his Majesty entertained the thought of introducing the Liturgy of the Church of England in his kingdom. And in Dr. Grabe’s

that this misfortune (but looked upon in Prussia rather as a neglect in the Archbishop of Can-

dedication of St. Irenæus to the King of Prussia, in 1702, he says nothing of his being sent over by him, but rather intimates the contrary, ascribing the leaving of his country to the providence of God in general, and not to any particular order of his prince. And lastly, in Mr. Collier's account of Dr. Grabe, in his Dictionary, who was instructed by Dr. Hickes in many particulars concerning him, there is no mention made of his being first sent into England, on account of consecration; which could hardly have been omitted had there been any authority for it; the information, therefore, given to the learned editor of Godwin, was undoubtedly grounded upon some imperfect account of my Lord of Canterbury's refusal to answer Dr. Ursinus's letter, wrote to his Grace by his Prussian Majesty's order; *and which was supposed to be delivered, and yet was not.* The person who only could give the true account of this matter was the same that was employed by Dr. Ursinus to ask his Grace whether he received the letter sent him, and to desire him to write something which might be shewed the King, to satisfy him whether it was received or no, which person (a man of strict veracity and honour, but desirous that his name might not be used on this occasion), reported from *his Grace, that the said letter never came to his hands, but withal, that his Grace was unwilling to write any thing to Dr. Ursinus (that being proposed to him), alleging the scandalous report that was at that time spread of the university of Helmstadt having declared, in the case of the marriage of the Queen of Spain, that it was lawful for a Protestant to change communion, which he said was such a reflection on all the Protestant Churches of Germany, that it was sufficient at that time to hinder his commencing a correspondence with any of them.* This was the whole of the matter, as appears from a paper sent the Archbishop of York by Dr. Hobart, and the

terbury), was one of the chief occasions which made the King grow cool in the design.

But though the King seemed to have laid aside his former intention, on account of the above-mentioned discouragement, yet herein he still shewed his good dispositions and inclinations towards it, that from that time forward, he did *not suffer any extempore effusions of prayer in the chapel royal*, but obliged his chaplains to use a set form, though it were a short one. And though the bishop and Dr. Jablouski had no further prospect of setting the affair on foot again with the Archbishop of Canterbury, yet they continued to cultivate a good correspondence with the English divines (hoping some favourable opportunity of moving it might offer itself), and particularly with Mr. Ayerst, at that time chaplain to my Lord Raby, then Ambassador at Berlin; whom they called into a participation of their councils, and who proved of singular use to them in the promoting the great design they had in view. It was through this gentleman's hands, (even after he

reason by which his Grace of Canterbury excused himself from writing to Dr. Ursinus, seemed too trifling to have been alleged on that occasion, yet, being the true reason, it is more for his honour that it should be produced, than that the world should be left at liberty to conjecture at large, and assign reasons for him.

removed from Berlin into Holland), that the correspondence was afterwards carried on between Dr. Jablouski and the Archbishop of York; which correspondence took its rise from the following occasion. The King, in 1710, thought proper, by way of experiment, to give orders to his divines to draw up their thoughts separately, upon a model of a worship and discipline to be established. Among the rest, Dr. Jablouski drew up his, with a great deal of prudence, modesty, and candour. He avoided in it the recommendation of the Church of England in particular, as judging that not so seasonable at that juncture, especially as he lay under the imputation of being too much a friend to it. Nor did he as yet treat of Church government, because he thought it *was yet too hard a saying for them*, and besides, he conceived that the Liturgy, once established, would of course bring on the discipline. This judgment of his he delivered to Baron Printz, President of the Council of Ecclesiastical Affairs at Berlin, on June 25, 1710. It was rendered from high Dutch into English, and by way of preface to Mr. Chamberlain's translation of the Neufchatel Liturgy, printed at London, 1712*. In settling

* This little tract, although it has been in print some years, is nevertheless put in the Appendix, not only on account of its relation to other papers therein collected, and the light it throws

which Liturgy, in conjunction with Mr. Osterwald, Dr. Jablouski had been very instrumental. In the meantime this order from his Prussian Majesty, and the judgments of his divines upon it seemed to make it a very proper season once more to move the affair of introducing the English Liturgy. And the rather, because my Lord Raby having obtained a particular interest in the King and his ministers, it was thought, that if he was commanded to recommend this

upon the present subject, but also on account of the scarcity of the impressions of the Neufchatel Liturgy, to which it is prefixed in the English edition. Justice is likewise done hereby to the worthy author, in the correction of a mistake in the translation, whereby the sentiments of the learned doctor concerning the Church of England are very much misrepresented. For whereas the doctor set out with an observation, *dass manche evangelische gemeinem*, i. e. *that several evangelical congregations* (meaning thereby the Lutherans and Calvinists in Prussia, Poland, Bohemia, &c.) have fallen from one extreme, that of the Romish idolatrous worship, to that other of a frigid, superficial, and not enough respectful way of worship: *his translator* not being apprised that *Evgliche* was an abbreviation of *Evangelsche*, read it with a small difference, *Englische gemeinem*; which he rendered *English congregations*. Those, it seems, were not in the doctor's thoughts when he made this reflection, as appears by his own words, wrote shortly after to the translator, wherein he gives this very account of the mistake, and adds, "Quod si tu ipse mihi non vertisti vitio quod mare transvolans Anglos ad me nihil hic pertinentes laccessiverim, saltem si ab aliis id fieri audiveris, me quæso excusa." 17th Dec. N. S. 1712.

affair to the King, from her Majesty in England, the success of the motion might in all probability prove good. Hereupon, Dr. Jablouski resolved to attempt it by an application to the *Archbishop of York* (moved thereto chiefly by the Rev. Mr. Ayerst); and made use of Dr. Hobart, then in Berlin, and personally known to the Archbishop, to transmit the letter*, wherein he begs his Grace's correspondence and assistance. Dr. Hobart took this opportunity of mentioning the several steps which had been made before in this business (out of whose accounts that which is above related is for the most part an extract), and inclosed Dr. Jablouski's plan of a public form of worship; and added, *that the doctor would be most punctual on his side, to give information of all that should be requisite for the furtherance of the design; that he*

* This letter itself is not to be found; but that it was wrote at the instance of Mr. Ayerst, and submitted to his judgment and correction, appears from these words in the doctor's letter to him, 17th Sept. 1710. N. S. "Cum hesternum tempus pomeridianum universum extra ædes meas et partim extra urbem transigere coactus fuero, literas promissas ad bonum Archiepiscopum Ebor, parare haud potui. Eas nunc rudi Minervâ conceptas tuæ censuræ subjicio, ut siquid adjiciendum omitendum, mutandum existimes, fraterne me moneas. Mitto etiam exemplar *Cogitationum mearum ad Exc. Printzium*. In cujus versione præter primum exordium (quod nullius vobis esse potest utilitatis) alia quæ forte videbuntur libere omittes."

would be the most proper person to carry it on, and to suggest to the ambassador, with whom he already had some acquaintance, all the best methods. That Dr. Ursinus was old, and might be more afraid of beginning again without the King's knowledge; but that, if the design were espoused in England, Dr. Jablouski would communicate to the other what passed, and carry it on in concert with him. That which made the doctor the most proper man that could be for the promoting such an affair was, that though he admired and loved the Church of England as much as any man, and would venture as much for the introducing it in Prussia in its full perfection, yet his temper and discretion was such, that he was the most proper judge what the time and place would bear; and if he should find that he could not entirely at first do all that he would, yet he would have patience to do it gradually.

And indeed it appears pretty clearly that all the steps that were taken in this matter were owing more to Dr. Jablouski's labours and influence than to any thing else whatsoever.

The packet from Germany came enclosed to Dr. Smaldrige in London * to whom the con-

* Dr. Hobart, who dispatched this packet September 22nd, 1710, the day before he left Berlin, was at a loss where to direct it with most safety and dispatch. He first sent it to Dr. Kenyon, desiring him to deliver it either to Dr. Smaldrige or Dr. Jenkyn whichsoever of them should be in town, writing

tents were communicated, and it was transmitted by him to the Archbishop, then in Yorkshire, October 10, 1710, to which he immediately replied by writing to all the parties who had concerned themselves in the communication of that affair. His letter to Dr. Jablouski, which is the most material, is as follows :

“ *York, Oct. 14, 1710.*

“ Rev. Sir,

“ I received the other day the favour of a letter from you enclosed in one from Dr. Hobart, for which I return you my humble thanks. I shall esteem it a great honour to have a correspondence with you by letters; for though I am a stranger to your person, I am not so to your character: having had such an account from my friends in London of your great learning and prudence and piety, that I must be a very ill man myself if I had not a great esteem for you. You may therefore, whenever you please, freely communicate your mind to me, as I shall make no scruple of doing the like to you. And you may likewise assure yourself of all the assistance that I can give you towards the fur-

a letter at the same time which might be delivered in his name to either of them. Dr. Smaldrige proved the man. See Dr. Hobart's said letter, and another of Dr. Smaldrige's to the Archbishop of York in the Appendix.

thering that *noble pious work*, which I understand you are now pursuing. I thank you heartily for the papers you sent me containing your thoughts concerning the public worship of God, directed to Baron Printz. I agree with you in every particular, and I hope his Prussian Majesty will be so affected with it as to establish things according to your plan. And I know no public worship in Christendom that comes up so well to your measures as that used among us in the Church of England. I heartily bless God for raising up a prince among you who has so great a concern for religion and the honour of God. And I do as heartily pray that God would crown his endeavours with success, and that he may live to see the good effect of his glorious designs in the *happy union of the divided Protestants among you*; and in the establishment of such a public worship of God as is most primitive, most pure, most decent, and most conducive to the advancement of God's glory and the edification of every soul that joins in it.

“ I ought humbly to beg your pardon for not answering your letter in the same language it was writ in, but I was encouraged to this rudeness by Dr. Hobart, who tells me that you understand English very well though it is difficult for you to write it. For my own part, though I can read Latin as well as ever I could, yet for

many years I have had so little occasion to write it that it is now very troublesome to me to attempt it.

“ That God Almighty would grant you health and long life, and bless all your endeavours for the public good, is the hearty prayer of, Sir,

“ Your most affectionate friend,

“ and humble servant,

“ JO. EBOR *.”

About the middle of the next month, viz. November 18th, he came to town, where he had an opportunity of entering into measures to facilitate Dr. Jablouski's project.

There were two persons then in London who were capable of being eminently serviceable to him in the furtherance of it, namely, Dr. Grabe, who was perfectly well acquainted with the state of the matter, with Jablouski's character, and

* This letter was very acceptable to the Doctor, and gave him great encouragement to proceed in his designs. See his answer 7th February, 1711, N.S. Appendix.

Extract of his letter to Mr. Ayerst, 22nd November, 1710. “ Proposueram heri te convenire Epistolamque *Grabianam* quam mecum communicaveras reddere, simul vero *Eboracensem*, interea ad me delatam *αριιδωρεν* vice tecum communicare. Quod vero ob intervenientia impedimenta destinata exequi haud potui, utramque in præsens tibi mitto, ut, si ita placuerit, et Deus vitam concesserit, die crastino, loco et tempore quo jusseris his de rebus conferre valeamus.”

with the disposition of the King of Prussia and his courtiers and his divines; and *Mr. Hales*, a gentleman well known by the Protestants abroad, and who was thought to understand the general state of their affairs in all the kingdoms of Europe. This gentleman had been before pitched upon, and recommended to her Majesty as a person proper to be employed in her name abroad for the good of Protestantism, and to solicit for the relief of the distressed churches in France and the Palatinate, and in Silesia, &c. And he had drawn up a memorial or scheme of the services that might be done to the Protestants abroad. *With this Mr. Hales he consulted November 28, and promised him to lay his memorial and the Queen of Poland her letter to him before Mr. Harley, then at the head of the court interest, which he afterwards did, and said to Mr. Harley what he thought proper to engage him in the service of these excellent designs; for without his concurrence it would have seemed a vain attempt, at that time of day, to meddle with foreign affairs.*

On November 30th *he spoke himself to the Queen about the Prussian affair; and at the same time desired that the Convocation might sit to do business, this being, as he thought, a matter upon which they might be very usefully employed.* And this brought on those meetings at the Bishop of Rochester's,

where Mr. Harley was present about the Convocation's sitting, an account whereof hath been given above ; where the Prussian was proposed by him as one of the *heads* they were to take into consideration.

By these applications and the concurrent assistance that was given him by others of our English divines, the design was again set on foot and put into motion (as it seemed most agreeable it should) *on the part of England.* Dr. Robinson, Bishop of Bristol, wrote to his Excellency the Lord Raby to sound the inclination of the court of Prussia, and inquire into the state of their ecclesiastical affairs ; upon which his lordship conferred with Dr. Jablouski, and with Baron Printz, the director of ecclesiastical affairs, February 7, N.S. 1710-11 : and the Baron, after consultation with the King's bishop, laid the affair before his Majesty, who seemed to receive the motion with a pleasure, and declared both to the baron and to the bishop that he was yet of the same mind he had formerly been, and recommended the scheme to be adjusted by them and Dr. Jablouski, but in a secret way, that a good and solid foundation might be laid for it before it was made public, by which means it would afterwards appear with greater advantage.

When Baron Printz acquainted my Lord Ambassador with the King's dispositions, my Lord desired him to signify as much to him in writing, which oc-

casioned the following letter from the baron to his lordship as it is rendered into English.

“ *February 12th, 1711. N. S.*

“ My Lord,

“ Your excellency having done me the honour some time since to communicate the overtures that had been made by our bishop here, Mons. de Bar (Ursinus) to his Grace the Archbishop of Canterbury, *in order to establish a nearer union and correspondence between the reformed churches on this side the sea, (and particularly in the dominions of the King my master) and the Church of England.* In compliance therewith, I have not failed to confer with Monsieur de Bar, our bishop, upon that subject; and we have most humbly laid some overtures before his Majesty, our august King. We continue, on our parts, in the same favourable dispositions, and are ready to enter into whatever measures may contribute to the good success of this affair. But as hitherto *it has been treated in England with so great an indifference,* that they have not vouchsafed to give any answer to the overtures that have been made by us, nor to the version of the English Liturgy, translated into our German language, so we would not expose ourselves to the like hazard, by making any further advances, without being assured of an answer from the part of England.

“ And, as far as I could judge by your Excellency’s discourses, her Majesty of Great Britain cannot want the means to advance this important affair by her consummate prudence, by her great credit in England, *and the laudable zeal she has already shewn for enlarging and establishing the Protestant Church.* And I believe (if I may be allowed to give my opinion), that the most certain and efficacious manner of facilitating this affair here, and also establishing a profound esteem in all the reformed Churches, for the Church of Great Britain, would be for her Britannic Majesty to give that shining proof of her royal bounty and gracious zeal, as to procure, by her powerful solicitations, that liberty of conscience and *free exercise of religion* to the poor *reformed* in Silesia, as the Imperial Court has granted to the other *Lutheran Protestants* by the mediation of the King of Sweden. And so many are the obligations of the House of Austria to her Majesty of Great Britain, that there is no doubt the Emperor will pay the same respect to the gracious intercessions of the Queen in favour of the reformed, as he has done to the pressing instances of the King of Sweden, in behalf of the Lutherans. *Dr. Robinson*, the new Bishop of Bristol, who was her Majesty’s minister when that affair was transacted between his Imperial Majesty

and the King of Sweden, is fully informed of all the circumstances, and the miserable condition, as well as the evident right of the poor reformed Church in Silesia. And I doubt not but his justice, and the exemplary zeal he hath ever shewed for the propagation of the Protestant faith, will oblige him to use his utmost endeavours, both by his solid remonstrances, and by the authority his great merit has so justly gained him, to relieve this afflicted people, and in general to contribute to the mutual correspondence and good agreement between the Church of England, and all the reformed Churches abroad.

“ But I submit every thing to your Excellency’s great wisdom, and that admirable dexterity wherewith you dispatch whatever you undertake. And I expect your last orders upon this affair, being, with the utmost respect and devotion,” &c.

Two days after, my Lord Raby dispatched this letter of Baron Printz’s to the Lord Bishop of Bristol, &c. as Dr. Jablouski did an account of it to the Archbishop of York; and added, *that if there was any thing in that letter which one could have wished had been otherwise expressed, he hoped his Grace would be pleased to consider, that the baron, though a very prudent, sagacious, and*

worthy gentleman, was not yet fully apprized of, and instructed in the nature of this business, having been promoted to that post since the time that this affair was before in agitation. But that, notwithstanding, he might be relied upon as one who would do the Church signal service. The doctor expressed in this letter an exceeding pleasure in the fair prospect he now had of bringing the long hoped for design to bear; and concluded, that there were two things highly requisite for the effectual promotion of it, viz. directions from her Majesty to the Lord Ambassador, to treat expressly upon that subject, and the dispatching Mr. Hales over to Berlin.

The Archbishop found the first of these much easier to be obtained than the other. For though no answer could be got for some time with respect to Mr. Hales, yet the following letter was sent in the same month to my Lord Raby, by Mr. Secretary St. John's, a copy of which is here inserted.

“ Whitehall, Feb. 28, 1710.

“ My Lord,

“ If this letter finds your Excellency still at Berlin, her Majesty desires that you would take some proper opportunity of speaking to Monsieur Printz, to the bishops, and to any others who may concern themselves in so lauda-

ble a design as that mentioned in your Excellency's of the 14th instant, N. S.

“ You will please, my Lord, to assure them, that her Majesty is ready to give all possible encouragement to that excellent work, and that those who have the honour to serve her are heartily disposed to contribute all that is in their power to the same end. Your Excellency may venture to assure them further, that the Clergy is zealous in this cause; *and if former overtures have met with a cold reception from any of that body*, such behaviour was directly contrary to their general inclination and to their avowed sense, as appeared evidently from the attempt which the lower House of Convocation made some years ago, to join with the bishops in promoting a closer correspondence between the two Churches.

“ Your Excellency will please to give, both here and at the Hague, as early notice as you conveniently can of your removal. I am,

“ My Lord, your Excellency's

“ Most obedient humble servant,

“ H. ST. JOHN.”

That the dispatch of Mr. Hales was likewise attempted, will appear from the following memorandums in the Archbishop's diary.

Thursday, March 1, 1710-11. “At eleven o'clock

I went to the Queen I would have read Dr. Jablouski's two letters to her ; but she was in haste. I left them with her, which she promises to shew to Mr. Secretary St. John's, which I pressed her to do, in order that he might give dispatch to a commission for Mr. Hales, who I told her was in both these letters earnestly recommended to that employment by Dr. Jablouski, as being well known and much esteemed, both by Ursinus and Baron Printz, and also the King of Prussia himself. Tuesday, April 3d. Before twelve o'clock I went to the Queen; but she was so busy, I did no business with her, but only put her in mind of Dr. Jablouski's letters, to be put into the hands of Secretary St. John's ; and to speak to him upon Mr. Hales' affair. As I came out, I spoke likewise to Secretary St. John's, who was there, and told him what I had said to the Queen, and desired him to speak to her about these matters, which he said he would."

There was another thing about this time well concerted for the furtherance of the main design, viz. that her Majesty should grant a sum of money to the Prussians, to buy ground for the erecting a church here in London for a Prussian congregation. *She promised a thousand pounds, and he having prepared her for the admitting their petition, waited upon her with it on Tuesday, April 17, she said she would speak with Mr. Harley, and so we left it with her.*

In the meantime *Mr. Bonet*, the King of Prussia's minister at London, had, on March 16th, a conference with Secretary St. John's, about the introduction of the English Liturgy and discipline into Prussia, which occasioned Monsieur Bonet to write his thoughts to his master upon that conference the next day, in the following manner, in a postscript to a letter upon other affairs.

P. S. " Sir,—In the same conversation that I had yesterday with the aforesaid Secretary of State, Mr. St. John's, he discoursed upon the ecclesiastical affairs relating to your Majesty's kingdoms, which have been the subject of the letters and transactions between the Archbishop and Dr. Jablouski; and between the Bishop of Bristol and my Lord Raby, and your Majesty's minister, Baron Printzen. I had already some intimation of this affair from the Archbishop of York and the Bishop of Bristol, who are both of them in great esteem with the Queen and present ministry; and who have shewed me some letters upon this subject, and assured me of her Majesty's good inclinations; but the discourse of the Secretary of State was more particular, in that he gave me to understand he should be glad I would write to your Majesty about it.

" He began his discourse by telling me how

much the Queen and clergy were displeas'd with the cold reception the German translation of the English Liturgy met with by the answer that was given concerning it; that *we ought to impute it to the character of the present Archbishop of Canterbury*. He added, that her Majesty and the clergy were well dispos'd to entertain a correspondence with the clergy of Prussia, and to enter into any negociation, and make all reasonable advances upon this subject, as he himself had mention'd to the above-nam'd ambassador. And moreover, he often mention'd a well writ letter of Baron Printzen's to my Lord Raby, and that the Queen approv'd of it. I told him I was not yet honour'd with your Majesty's commands upon this affair, nor was I yet instructed in the scheme to be propos'd, no more than I was acquainted with the disposition of the people, who are often jealous and prepossess'd against novelties, and that their inclinations ought to be consult'd before we made any step of this nature, who must be instructed and prepar'd by degrees, before they will enter into any new measures, be they ever so good. But I added, that I would not fail to lay the Queen's inclinations in this affair before your Majesty.

“ Before we parted, he again repeated the design the Court and clergy had of entering

into a negotiation to create *an union between the Protestant Churches here and beyond sea*, but without entering into any particulars.

“ Sir, I will not here enter into the consideration of the nature of the Service of the Church of England, the most perfect, perhaps, that is among Protestants, though the many years that I have frequented no other have given me time to reflect upon the ritual and practice of that Church, as well as upon some abuses there are in her clergy and *Discipline*, I will apply myself to other considerations. *The first* is, that a conformity between the Prussian Churches and the Church of England would be received with great joy here. *The second* is, that the conformity to be wished for beyond the sea relates *more to Church government* than to any change in the Ritual or Liturgy. The clergy here are for episcopacy, and look upon it, *at least*, as of apostolical institution, and are possessed with the opinion, that it has continued in an uninterrupted succession from the Apostles to this present time; and upon this supposition, they alledge there can be no true ecclesiastical *government* but under bishops of this Order; nor true *ministers* of the Gospel, but such as have been ordained by bishops; and if there be others that do not go so far, yet they all make a great difference between the ministers that

have received imposition of hands by bishops, and those that have been ordained by a synod of Presbyters. A *third consideration is*, that the Church of England would look upon a conformity of this nature as a great advantage to herself, and that the clergy, united to the Court and the Tories, are a very considerable and powerful body. On the other side, the Whigs, the Presbyterians, the Independants, and all the other non-conformists would look upon this conformity with great concern as weakening and disarming their party. And the Electoral House of Brunswick, which depends more upon the latter than the former, may fear least this conformity should have other consequences. But though the Whigs have more money, because they are more concerned in trade, and though their chiefs may have the reputation at present of a superior genius, yet the others have more zeal and constant superiority and interest.

“ Ut in razione humillima, &c.”

“ *Tuesday, March 17.*”

What reception and effect Mr. Secretary St. John's letter, and this of Mr. Bonet's, had at Berlin, will appear from the account of them given to the Archbishop by Dr. Jablouski, in his letter of April 28, 1711; the translation of

which shall be given entire, because it is a narrative of what was done at Berlin on this occasion.

“ My very good Lord,

“ The day that his Excellency my Lord Raby, the British ambassador, took his leave of this place (which was on the 24th of March, N. S.), he was pleased to acquaint me, that he had received the Queen’s commands by the Right Honourable Mr. Secretary St. John’s, that he should confer with Baron Printz and our bishops, and others, about our ecclesiastical affairs, and assure them of the ready assistance both of her Majesty and of the clergy of England to promote so good a design. He also told me, that in pursuance of her Majesty’s directions he had been the day before at Baron Printz’s, with a design to wait upon him. But not finding him at home, he intrusted me to deliver a copy of the above-mentioned letter to Baron Printz and the bishop in his name, which I did the day following*.

“ Mr. St. John’s letter, for the compass of it,

* Extract of Jablouski’s letter to Mr. Ayerst, of May 5, 1711. “ Grande illud negotium nostrum satis feliciter procedit postquam illustris vester St. Johnius residenti Prussico Bonneto Reginae vestrae ministorum status atque cleri eâ de re mentem exposuit, ipsum que de eadem ad Regem referre jussit.”

breathes such a spirit of British piety and generosity, that it mightily affected and pleased me, and hath given a new life to our hopes.

“ A few days after came a letter from Mr. Bonet, the Prussian resident in Great Britain, dated at London, March 17; in which he informs his Majesty, that he had had a long conference about our affairs with the Right Honourable Mr. St. John's, who expressed himself very desirous that we should proceed in this business, and generally offered the concurrent assistances of her Majesty and the English clergy. This letter is the more remarkable, in that it gives us to understand, that Mr. St. John's does not content himself with repeated declarations that he would have the Church of England keep up a brotherly correspondence with the Church of Prussia, and be more closely united to it, and such like general intimations of a good disposition; but expressly affirms, that *he is desirous this matter should be laid before the King.* And Mr. Bonet adds, that the English do not aim so much at a conformity in the Liturgy, as in the Church government. By which words the prudent minister, in short, touches upon the very substance of the whole affair.

“ Baron Printz communicated Mr. Bonet's letter to the bishop and myself; but to each a

part. And he desired each of us to give him in writing our own sentiments upon this subject. I did so yesterday; and with that freedom of speech that becomes a servant of Christ, have delivered my opinion for a form of prayer like to the English Liturgy, and for the government of the Church by bishops; and have supported my opinion, as I think, with weighty arguments. I cannot yet tell whether Baron Printz is pleased to approve of my thoughts, because he is out of town. He has promised, indeed, that he would duly and thoroughly consider what each of us should offer, and whatever he judged in his conscience to be most proper and advisable, he would lay it before the King in council. The undissembled and unshaken piety of this gentleman makes me hope that he will espouse our cause. He gave me liberty to speak my mind freely, and told me that he would take upon himself the *envy and odium of the whole affair*. Mr. Bonet had very seasonably let us know, that the Right Honourable Mr. St. John's often called Baron Printz's letter to my Lord Raby, *une lettre tres-sensee et tres bien ecrite*; and that her Majesty the Queen was mightily pleased with it. ' *Principibus placuisse viris non ultima laus est.*' I may add, that to do so is not only an honour, but a great pleasure to a noble and generous mind.

“ Thus far, my Lord, I have given your Grace an account of this business. I have indeed more particulars to acquaint your Grace with, but such as cannot be conveniently inserted in a letter. And therefore I have desired his Excellency the Lord Raby’s chaplain, the Rev. Mr. Ayerst (a man of judgment much above his years, and who, to the veneration he has for the Church of England, prudently joins moderation towards those in foreign parts), that when he should arrive in Britain with my Lord Raby (which he supposed would be soon), he would in person inform your Grace in every thing. This gentleman understands our affairs extremely well; and I have let him into all my designs and actions, having had experience both of his candour and his zeal.

“ The confused prospect of affairs in Europe seems to require the dispatch of another ambassador from her Majesty, to succeed my Lord Raby at our Court; upon whom, in great measure, will depend the good or bad event of the business in agitation. May he therefore be a man of a religious disposition, as well as discretion in civil affairs; one who will be mindful that he is not only the ambassador of the great Queen Anne, but also the servant of Jesus Christ; and that he is designed to serve the interests and enlarge the kingdoms of both;

one who may adorn his external character by the virtues of his mind, and by both these secure his interest and reputation with the King and his ministers, and make use of both for the service of the Church. But whither does my zeal for God and his glory carry me! that I should launch out thus boldly, when my meaning is only to express my desires for the advancement of religion. I hope your Grace will pardon me, I am sure you will; since you yourself know, by experience, *how strong the love of Christ is which constraineth us.*

“Your Mr. Hales delays too long giving us the pleasure that we expect from him. The public concerns of the Church do not only invite him, but require and demand him. Among the many advantages which we on this side the water hope to reap from his presence, this is a considerable one, and would at this time be very seasonable, viz. that as he understands our language, the German provinces might by his means resound with the English Liturgy, and our natives be brought over by degrees, and be reconciled to what at present seems unusual and strange to them. Farewell, my Lord. Be pleased to continue your Grace’s respects to

“Your Lordship’s most humble

“And most devoted servant,

“DANIEL ERNESTUS JABLousKI.”

“Berlin, April 28, 1711.”

The doctor having drawn up his thoughts freely and fully, as Baron Printz directed him, upon Mr. Bonet's letter to the King of Prussia, and having presented them, as he acquaints the Archbishop in this letter to the baron the day before, had the satisfaction, within a very few days, of receiving the following answer from the baron himself.

“ *Charlottenburg, May 3, 1711.*

“ Worthy Sir,

“ I have not failed to read over, with a very particular attention, and consequently so much greater satisfaction, the reflections you sent me concerning our known affair; and having observed, among other things, that you think a way might be found out (notwithstanding the prejudices and inveterate opinions, and the many difficulties which it is to be feared might thence arise), to introduce and establish *an approved episcopacy*, in such manner as should give no offence, nor at all weaken or diminish the *jura majestatis circa sacra*, especially in a government entirely sovereign; I do, therefore, instantly desire you by this, that according to your highly laudable zeal for promoting the true welfare of the Protestant religion, you would be so good as to write down, at your leisure, those your thoughts, and communicate

them to me; which I will not only make use of in such a cautious manner as you desire, that you shall not fear incurring any censure or envy on that account; but will not fail, in proper time and place, to extol the great care and pains you have taken, as being, on many other accounts, with a very particular high esteem and true passion, &c.

“PRINTZEN.”

This further request of the baron produced, in two or three days, another treatise from Dr. Jablouski, which he entitled *his project for introducing episcopacy into the King of Prussia's dominions*, and which he presented to the baron, May 7, 1711. Both these discourses were translated from the high Dutch (in which language they were wrote) by Mr. Ayerst, then at the Hague, the translator of the doctor's former treatise prefixed to the version of the Neufchatel liturgy. And as they are equally deserving to be published, are therefore inserted at length in the appendix.

Mr. Ayerst was so kind as to send copies of these versions very early to my Lord of York, and acquainted him in the letter which he sent along with them (bearing date June 9, 1711,) that it was a pity “Mr. Hales was not yet dispatched with the designed character into those

parts, and that he was not then at the Hague; to join with my lord ambassador in soliciting the King of Prussia (who was then at that place) on that affair. One good effect (says he), which your Grace's care has already had at Berlin is, that they begin to have a greater respect for the episcopal character; since the doctor tells me, that at the King's coming from thence, the titular Bishop Ursinus was made Vice-President of the Royal Consistory, and keeps the seals in Baron Printz's absence; though, not above two years ago, it was decreed, that none of the clergy were capable of that office. Your Grace will see, by Baron Printz's answer after that he had read the doctor's reflections, that things are in a fair way if they are pursued; and perhaps they might still go on better, if the House of Hanover were applied to in the same affair."

The Archbishop was at this time in Yorkshire, but that he might not omit any service he was capable of doing to advance the design he had undertaken to encourage, he wrote a letter to the new Lord Treasurer, July 21, 1711, wherein he has these words:—

“ I would beg leave to put your Lordship in mind of Mr. Hales. He is capable of doing great service towards the promoting that noble design that is now on foot of having episcopacy

and our Liturgy established in Prussia; he being very well known there and in all parts of Germany. I have had several letters from Dr. Jablouski, wherein he earnestly presses that he (Mr. Hales) may be sent abroad for that purpose, under some public character. I could heartily wish that your Lordship would concert and settle this affair with Mr. Secretary St. John's, who is very well apprised of this whole business, and is no stranger to Mr. Hales."

In a few days after he wrote also to Mr. Hales as follows.

" Sir,

" I beg your pardon for not sooner returning you my thanks for Dr. Jablouski's two letters, and for your own. Those of the doctor I have taken copies of, and so send them you back to be translated into English, and laid before her Majesty, if it be thought fit.

" I beg of you, when you next write to that excellent person, that you would present my humble service to him, and beg his pardon, that I have not of a long time writ to him. Indeed I am ashamed of it, but, alas! being at so great a distance from London, I have nothing to communicate to him worthy of his knowledge.

" You may assure him, that while I was at London I took all opportunities of shewing my

zeal for carrying on that noble work that is now in hand in Prussia; that I often spoke to the Queen and Mr. Secretary St. John's about it; that from time to time I got his letters translated, and laid them before the Queen; that likewise I have often pressed, as he desired me, that you might be sent abroad under a public character, to promote the interests of our Church and religion, and the settling episcopacy and a Liturgy in Prussia. And to tell you, by the by, that you may see I do not forget you, having occasion this last month to write to my Lord Treasurer, that I put him in mind of this affair of your's, which I understand had been lately recommended to him by the Prolocutor, and begged that it might have some effect.

“ Lastly, I desire you to return my humble thanks to Dr. Jablouski for his two excellent treatises, which I received since I came down from Mr. Ayerst, viz. his *Reflections on Mr. Bonet's Letter to the King of Prussia*, and his *Project for introducing Episcopacy into the King of Prussia's dominions*.

“ I assure you, I do exceedingly approve of them, as I must of every thing that comes from that great man.

“ But I beg your pardon for giving you this

trouble. I will add no more, but that I am, with sincere respect and esteem, Sir,

“ Your affectionate friend and servant,
“ JO. EBOR.”

Mr. Ayerst, in his letter of June 9, 1711, lately quoted, had intimated, that the design in Prussia would be much forwarded, *if the House of Hanover were applied to in the same affair*. He had first moved and suggested the same to Dr. Jablouski and Monsieur Leibnitz*, who both indeed seemed to approve of the thing, though doubtful as to the success of it. However, Mr. Leibnitz undertook to sound the inclinations of the Court of Hanover towards it. And in a very short time he enabled Mr. Ayerst

* Extract of Jablouski's letter to Mr. Ayerst, of 5th May, 1711. “ Quas Leibnitsia destinaveras ipse ei in manus tradidi. Responsum ejus habes geminum iis quæ de inventu tuo confabulati sumus. Confecta res videri posset, nisi Electrix vidua, expensarum pertæsa, spei autem pro suâ personâ exors, expensas una cum spe in filium devolveret.”

Mr. Leibnitz's letter was in these words.

“ Monsieur, Je trouve votre pensée tres raisonnable mais avant mon retour a Hanover, je ne sauray dire, si elle pourra avoir de success. Et M. Jablouski predicateur du Roy, qui m'a fait l'honneur de me rendre votre lettre est du mesne sentiment. Quand je seray donc de retour a Hanover, je prendrai mon temps pour sonder les sentimens la dessus. Je menageray la chose aussi de la sorte qu'elle ne puisse point eclater avant le temps. Je suis, &c. Leibnitz.” Berlin, ce 3 de May, 1711.

then at the Hague, to tell the Archbishop of York, in his letter, July 1, 1711, N. S. *That he was assured, by good hands from Hanover, that if her Majesty would allow a pension for a chaplain of the Church of England to attend the Princess Sophia, it would be very acceptable there.* And Dr. Smaldridge, through whose hands Mr. Ayerst transmitted this letter, added, as from himself, “ that it would certainly be of great service to our Church, *that our Liturgy should be used at the Court of Hanover.* And since there is (says he) so good a disposition towards it, I hope, by your Grace’s influence, it may be compassed. If that design should succeed, Mr. Ayerst seems to have a very good right to officiate as chaplain. He has given sufficient proofs of his prudence and good affection to the Church; and being well known there, would, I doubt not, be very acceptable to Madam and the Electress.”

The connecting these two designs together, was looked upon as a probable means of bringing both to a good issue. For a stricter union between the Courts of Prussia and Hanover was entered into by the marriage of the Prince Royal; and it was not without grounds judged conducive, as well to the interests of the House of Hanover, *in relation to the succession in England*, as to the furtherance of the Prussian pro-

ject, to introduce the Liturgy of the Church of England first of all at Hanover. Of this opinion were the Archbishop of York in England, M. Leibnitz at Hanover, and Dr. Jablouski at Berlin; the three principals engaged in the design, and holding a correspondence upon it, through the hands of Mr. Ayerst, who, as is said before, first projected or formed it. The Archbishop's letters upon this subject cannot be retrieved; and of those which were wrote by Mr. Leibnitz and Dr. Jablouski, only a small number remain, those written to Mr. Ayerst at the Hague and at Utrecht; and which he chanced to preserve, though he had twice the misfortune to lose the greatest part of his papers*.

Out of Monsieur Leibnitz's letter to Mr.

* Extract out of Dr. Jablouski's letter to Mr. A., 15th August, 1711. "Accepi novissimas tuas, 4 Augusti scriptas unas cum inclusis a *Rssimo Archiepiscopo* et D. D. Smaldrige, quæ quod gaudio haud mediocri me affecerent facile ipse conjecis. 17 Sept. 1712. Nuper etiam epistolam accepi a *Rssimo Dom. Archiepiscopo Eboracensi*. Mittam vero ad Te. V. R. Respondum teque orabo, ut ad *Rdum* patrem illud promovere dignesis. 22 Aug. 1711. Negotium simul Hannoveranum quod reveru rebus nostris pondus haud leve additurum videtur pro virili urgebo. 8 Sept. 1711. In iis quæ *Rmo Dono* Episcopo Bristolicens: inscriptæ sunt (sc. litteræ) negotium Hannoveranum iis argumentis quæ et tute mihi suppeditasti et sana ratio dictat urgeo." See also the letters in the Appendix.

Ayerst one large quotation has been made above, as a testimony of the *Archbishop's readiness to serve the interests of the house of Hanover*, as well as promote the honour of the Church of England. Here follow a passage or two more to show what opinion Mr. Leibnitz himself had both of the Prussian and Hanover affair. In his letter of June 28th, 1711, having mentioned the inclination the Electress had to form a Church according to the usage of the Liturgy of England, he proceeds * “ Monsieur l'Arche-

* Thus Englished—“ *The Archbishop of York and the Bishop of Bristol* would do a considerable service to the Church and State if they any ways contribute to it, as you tell me they have had some thoughts of doing. And as the *Elector of Brunswick* is now the first prince of the empire of the *Confession of Augsburgh*, it will be a means of uniting the two Churches the more closely. I had the honour one day to talk pretty freely with *the Elector on the Thirty-nine Articles of the Church of England*, and he very well comprehended that they come much to the same with what is believed in this country.

“ They are a little too much *Geneva stamp at Berlin*; yet, since the King himself, the Bishop Ursinus, and Dr. Jablouski are inclined to the Church of England, and I know are entered into some correspondence about it, I hope that it will one day come to something in spite of some rigorists that oppose it. *Mr. Ursinus* and *Mr. Jablouski* did once confer with me on these matters by order of the King, and likewise by my means with some of our divines, who made some considerable progress in this affair. The then English Envoy, *Mr. Cresset*, did likewise enter into it, and I have still some of the letters which he wrote to me on that subject, as likewise the correspondence of

vêque de York et Monsieur l'Evêque de Bristol rendront un service considerable a l'Eglise et meme a l'Etat, s'ils y contribuent comme vous me le mandes. Et comme *Monseigneur l'Electeur de Bronswic* est maintenant le premier Prince de l'Empire de la *Confession d'Augsbourg*, ce sera un moyen de rendre ces deux Eglises plus unies. J'ay eu l'honneur de parler amplement un jour à *Monseigneur l'Electeur sur les 39 Articles* de l'Eglise Anglicane; et il a fort bien compris qu'ils reviennent aux sentimens recens dans ce pays cy. On est un peu trop *Genevois a Berlin*; cependant comme le Roy meme Monsieur l'Eveque Ursinus et Monsieur Jablouski sont assès portes pour *l'Eglise Anglicane*, et que Je

our divines, which may one day be of service. It would not be amiss that the *Lord Archbishop of York* and the *Bishop of Bristol* were informed of it: when the latter passed this way he made but a very short stay, otherwise I should have been extremely glad to have shewn them all to him, and have talked with him on the measures that were proper to be taken.

“ I hope the *Archbishop of York* has received a copy of my book *Upon the Liberty of Man*, and other matters pertaining to that subject, which *Mr. Bothmar* carried with him into England. I could wish to have some time his opinion of it. I once saw a printed Sermon * of that prelate which was something to my purpose; but I could not find it among Madam the Electress's papers, where I had seen it.”

* This was his Grace's Sermon on the Government of the Thoughts given to the Princess Sophia by Mr. Toland.

scay qu'on est entrè en quelque correspondance la dessus, j'espere qu'on en tirera un jour quelque fruit, malgré quelques rigorists qui s'y opposent. Monsieur Ursinus et Monsieur Jablouski ont communique autrefois avec may sur ces matiere par ordre du Roy, et il y a en quelque commerce et communication la dessus par mon entremise entre nos Theologiens en les leurs où l'on a fait des pars assez considerables. Feu Monsieur l'Envoyé Cresset y entroit, et j'ay encore ses lettres là dessus qu'il inecrivoit, aussi bien que les correspondences de nos Theologiens, qui serviront beaucoup un jour. Il sera bon que *Monsieur l'Archevêque de York et Monsieur l'Evêque de Bristol* en ayent information. Quand le dernier passa icy il ne s'arreta pas assés autrement j'aurois ete ravi de lui montrer le tout, et de parler avec lui des mesures a prendre.

“ J'espere que *Monsieur l'Archevêque de York* aura secu un des exemplaires de mon livre, sur la Liberte et les matieres voisines, que *Monsieur Bothmar* a porté avec lui en Angleterre; et je souhaite d'en apprendre un jour son sentiment. J'ay ou autrefois un Sermon imprimé de ce Prelat qui revenoit asses au mien: mais ou n'a pas pu le retrouver cher Madame l'Electrice ou il etoit.”

And in another letter, dated the 18th of Sep-

tember the same year, and wrote to the same person, he has these words.

“ Comme la correspondance entre la cour de la *G. Bretagne*, et celle de *Berlin* a été renouée, et que j’apprends que meme *M. de St. Jean*, *Secrétaire d’Etat* en a écrit, j’espere qu’encore cette affaire aura quelque bonne suite. On a fort estimè icy un livre de *Monsieur Nichols*, ou il montre qu’une bonne correspondance des Eglises Protestants du Continent avec vos Insulaires pourra etre d’un grand effect pour lever les animosités des parties, et j’ay lu autrefois ce livre avec plaisir et avec fruit. Je voudrois pouvoir retrouver un Sermon de *my Lord Archeveque de York* sur la libertè, predestination, et matieres approchantes; qui *Madame l’Electrice* avoit, mais qui s’est perdu *.”

* Thus rendered—“ Since I hear the correspondence between the Court of Great Britain and that of Berlin has been renewed, and understand that Mr. Secretary St. John’s has writ about it, I hope that that affair will still have some good issue. We esteemed very much here a book of Dr. Nichols, in which he shews that a good correspondence between the Protestant churches of the Continent and yours of England might be of great use to extinguish that animosity which is between the two contending parties. I once read that book with pleasure and profit.

“ I wish I could find my Lord Archbishop of York’s Sermon on the subject of Free Will, Predestination, and the like

But the grand negotiations of state carried on at this time in Holland, and in the respective courts where the design of introducing the English Liturgy was espoused, took off the attention of the great ministers from ecclesiastical affairs, which if duly prosecuted, would have been much to the honour of our Church of England, *and the strengthening the Protestant interest in Europe.* A correspondence was still carried on between the Archbishop and Dr. Jablouski in the years 1712 and 1713. As also between the Doctor and the Earl of Strafford and the Bishop of Bristol then Plenipotentiaries at Utrecht; *into the latter of whose hands several of the original papers relating to this affair were put,* which if ever it be thought proper (by the persons into whose hands that prelate's papers are fallen) to publish to the world, will give great light to this whole transaction, and more fully shew that the persons concerned in it had no other views than the honour of the Church of England and the interest of the Protestant religion in general, joined with that of the Protestant succession to the House of Hanover, from which that interest is inseparable.

Nor was the correspondence altogether with-

matters, which Madam the Electress once had, but is now some way lost."

out success, for though the King of Prussia was grown colder in the main design, yet several steps were made by Baron Printz and the King himself, which shewed still disposition towards it. In particular Dr. Jablouski acquainted the Archbishop, in a letter dated January 14, 1712-13, "that the King of Prussia had been prevailed upon to establish a fund for the education of students in divinity in the English Universities, *legibus foundationis conscriptis*" as his words are "*et redditibus necessariis eidem assignatis.*" And in all probability after this step made, and the great affair of peace being then also concluded, a new life might have been given to these proceedings in both the courts, had not the demise of the King of Prussia within a month after, viz. February 25, 1713, put a stop to them in one, and the death of the Archbishop within the year following, *given a final stroke to them in the other.*

However, the latter before his death had the satisfaction of hearing from Dr. Jablouski, the last letter he received from him, (22nd of April, 1713,) *that the new King of Prussia had confirmed his father's foundation for maintaining students in the Universities of England.* But the Archbishop was then, both by reason of his absence and distance from court, and on account of his declining health, quite disabled from making any new

advances in the negotiation; which occasioned Dr. Jablonski, when Mr. Ayerst had acquainted him with the Archbishop's present declining state, to return answer, 22nd July, 1713. *Quæ de Reverendissimo Archiepiscopo Eboracensi narras gravi me dolore afficiunt.*

END OF VOL. I.

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Archbishop of York

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Born 1644. — Died 1713.

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Among his social virtues, that which claims our first attention, as the most obvious, distinguished, and invariable character, was his *simplicity*.

He had nothing of intrigue in his temper; nothing covert or suspicious, either in his discourse or in his outward demeanour; had no notion of perplexing or amusing those he conversed with by any kind of disguise, but was in every instance, and throughout his whole conduct, a man without guile. It has already been observed, that such an open and artless conduct might prove a disadvantage to him in his conferences and correspondences with the courtiers; and his utter want of some degree of polite subtlety might be interpreted as a diminution of his abilities for public service. However that was, they who valued themselves most on their dexterity of address, could not have a meaner opinion of his simplicity, than he had of every species of dissimulation, not excepting the most refined. Double meanings and evasions could never be so elegantly and speciously dressed up as to hide their ill shapes and deformity from his eyes. The finest parts and rarest endowments lost most of their merit with him, if they did not appear accompanied with sincerity, singleness, and uprightness of design; which are the chief beauty and the only real worth both of words and actions.

Once, when he had received directions from the Queen (it was towards the latter end of her reign), to confer with her minister about a point to which her Majesty readily consented, he was forewarned by one who knew the minister better than he did, that he would *not be able to get one direct answer from him*; and probably not one that was at all to the purpose. He thought this was incredible; and did not in the least despair of knowing something of the statesman's mind, whatever success or issue the application to him might have. The thing itself indeed was of little moment, viz. *A proposal made among some of the bishops about some proper robe to be worn by them in the House of Lords, instead of their episcopal habits, as a purple gown or some plain but distinguishing dress.* The noble earl having received the Archbishop with the greatest courtesy, and having hearkened very attentively to the overture that was made, entered with great seeming seriousness, and with real learning and judgment, upon a discourse concerning the habits of the Roman *Flamines*, such especially as they wore at the time of their religious ceremonies. The Archbishop being apprised of his lordship's skill and delight in antiquities, and being himself an antiquarian, complied for some time with an enquiry into the form of the sacred vestments used by the

Romans ; but found at length no end of it, notwithstanding his repeated attempts to recal the subject of his message. Nothing could be heard or replied to but what related to the *Flamines!* So that, after a long discourse, wholly confined to Old Rome, he came away just as wise as he went, without any further discovery of his lordship's sentiments about the bishops' robes in Parliament than (what was obvious to collect), that he had no mind to give himself any thought about them. As there was art enough in this manner of the minister's evading the disclosure of his sentiments upon the question asked him, so it might strictly accord with the approved rules of policy ; yet could not, on either account, seem otherwise than trifling and impertinent to the Archbishop's *open temper*, who thought it became nobody to act such a part, even for the sake of important matters, and much less for things of small consequence.

The reflection he made upon this visit to the person who had foretold the effect of his application was, that he had never met with *so strange a man in his life*. And he knew not how to place or to affect the reposing any confidence in a person who could speak any thing but his own mind. It was this in a great measure that kept him and the noble earl above-mentioned at a wider distance from each other, than

seemed consistent with the share that both of them had in the Queen's favour and confidence.

Yet nobody was more inclined than he was to pass a favourable judgment on what he disliked in other men, and to make all the allowance for what they said or did, than their principles or conduct would bear. He was not wont to lose his temper, even when he freely expressed his disapprobation; and was *calm and candid* in judging of other people's sentiments, at the same time that he was frank and unreserved in delivering his own. These being qualities that do not always go together, are the more to be esteemed when they meet in the same man. Honesty and open-heartedness are ever valuable, but lose much of their praise, when they serve to give the freer vent to heat or resentment, or to disclose a severe or censorious temper. In such cases they prove frequently a disadvantage, by exposing, with too great a promptitude, what in discretion should rather be concealed. But when, by shewing all, they exhibit nothing but what deserves to be seen and ought to be discovered, viz. a sweet benign disposition, and a mild and patient temper, they become real blessings to the man who has them.

And such they were to the Archbishop, whose *charity and moderation* were as amiable as the

sincerity that rendered them so visible. It hath been observed of him, and confessed by indifferent persons, who occasionally remarked and attended to his conversation, that he seemed to have as little of craft or disguise, and as much candour and good nature, as any man they had ever met with. .

They who were not personally acquainted with him will not easily conceive how happily these qualities were expressed in his conversation and address. The best testimonies of them that can now be produced are some of his letters, wrote, as well to strangers as friends, upon points in which he differed in opinion from them; and which breathe the same spirit and principles by which he lived. One of this kind has been already published by Mr. Whiston, in his historical preface to *Primitive Christianity Revived*. London, 1711, p. 18. Being an answer to Mr. Whiston's question propounded to both the Archbishops, *in what manner and method those discoveries he had made of the primitive doctrines concerning the Trinity and Incarnation, might, with the greatest advantage, be communicated to the world*; which letter, as it represents the Archbishop's sincerity and charity in association, will bear republishing on this occasion, and will be found in the Appendix, No. 10.

Mr. Whiston himself seems to have disco-

vered something of *primitive Christianity revived* in this letter, as may be judged by the character he gives the writer of it in his Historical Memoirs of Dr. Clark, p. 16. "I sent," says he, "a copy of my MS. fourth volume, or an account of the primitive faith concerning the Trinity and Incarnation, to Dr. Sharp, the Archbishop of York, that very good, that very honest man, that excellent preacher and great friend to Mr. Clark and myself."

He was not indeed mistaken in his opinion of the Archbishop's real friendship to them both, of which he gave undoubted instances to each, when he entreated them to lay aside their intentions of stirring up new debates, or rather reviving old ones upon the subject of the Trinity. He warned both of them of the mischief they were in danger of doing by publishing their notions, and endeavoured to apprise them of the ill consequences that might follow upon the disputes that would necessarily arise in the prosecution of that controversy. So that notwithstanding his friendship for both their persons, he was by no means a friend to those doctrines, by which they distinguished themselves, but opposed them with that honest zeal that became one who looked upon their *errors as dangerous and pernicious*. He did not indeed live to see any progress made in the controversy upon Dr. Clark's "Scripture Doctrine," for the

debate was scarce opened in his time. But he had made warm remonstrances to the doctor himself against publishing that book, and foreshewed him both the disturbance he would thereby give to others, and the troubles he would bring upon himself; and probably he would have carried his opposition further, had he lived longer. As to Mr. Whiston, he did more than barely declare himself against him. He set others on work to confute him; particularly to him it is we owe Dr. Grabe's examination of Mr. Whiston's first article. He likewise proposed to Dr. Jenkins, then Margaret Professor in Cambridge, to lecture against Mr. Whiston's erroneous positions; but he spoke too late, for the doctor was then engaged upon another subject: and something Mr. Whiston himself acknowledges about the Archbishop's *looking out for a man to prove the apostolical constitutions, as we now have them, to be spurious or interpolated*; for so he understood Mr. Anderson, of Lutterworth, who informed him of what he had heard said to that purpose to Dr. Smalldridge, either by the Archbishop, or by some other person in company with them.—See postscript to the appendix to Dr. Clark's Life by Mr. Whiston. Which testimony, though delivered a little uncertainly, was no doubt, as to the main substance, true.

Yet nobody made greater allowances than he

did for men's different ways of thinking, so long as they appeared to aim at nothing further than the discovery of truth and advancement of knowledge. And he approved of their communicating their notions (however new or uncommon) for examination and trial, provided they did it with modesty and candour, and *in a proper way; so that no breach might be made in the peace of the Church; no handle given to artful, ill-designing men to lay hold of and employ to bad ends; nor snares laid for honest and well-meaning people, who were not capable or sufficient judges of what was advanced.* Where these points were secured, he did not except against *speculations in the mysteries of religion*, even in the subjects above-mentioned, the *Trinity* and the *Incarnation*. Thus in a letter that he wrote to a gentleman who desired his judgment upon certain passages relating to those points, in a book entitled *The principles of the Black List*, he has these words:—"As for those treatises in it that relate to the *Trinity* and the *Incarnation*, I have read them throughout since I received your letter, and I cannot but own I am much pleased with them; I meet there with a great many noble and uncommon thoughts upon those subjects. And though some of the speculations there advanced be very metaphysical, and it is not easy to deter-

mine whether the reasons upon them be absolutely conclusive, yet being proposed with so great modesty, and containing nothing that doth in my apprehension in the least clash with the received doctrines of the Christian faith, but rather tend to illustrate and confirm those doctrines; even these speculations are so far from being matter of offence to me, that they are very entertaining. In a word, I am much taken with the learning and with the spirit of the author; and, above all, with that hearty zeal for God and religion, that shews itself through his whole book."

He was always ready to put the most favourable construction upon men's tenets and sentiments, wherever there was but room to believe their intention was upright and innocent; and though their notions, even in the best lights, and with the most candid interpretation, might not please him, as being disagreeable to his own way of thinking, yet he took no offence at their persons, was not forward in censuring them, if they were strangers to him, nor tempted to drop his friendship and *familiarity with them, if they were of his acquaintance*. He lived many years in great intimacy with Mr. Firmin and Mr. Baxter, and others with whose principles he could by no means be reconciled. Yet he delighted in free conversation with such per-

sons, wherein he might express his own sincerity and charity, though he might reap no other fruits from it. Sometimes, indeed, he was so fortunate in private discourse as to convince people of their mistakes, and at other times to prevent, by interposition of kind advice, their publishing to the world what he judged would have ill consequences; in which applications it is more to be considered that he should succeed at all, considering the *peculiar fondness* men are apt to have of their *peculiar notions*, than that he should succeed no oftener than he did.

When any treatises designed for the press were submitted to his judgment, whether the authors were of his acquaintance or not, he was scrupulously exact in giving his opinion of whatever he disliked, with the reasons which induced him to be of that opinion, always leaving the authors to determine themselves by those reasons, and not to rest themselves upon his opinion and judgment. It was enough for him, as he was wont to tell them, *if they would not take his freedom amiss; for provided they did not that, he left them to do with their own as they pleased.* The reader, perhaps, will not be displeased with a specimen or two of his manner of representing to authors the objections he had to some things in their compositions, especially since those that are given on the following occasions fully

express his own sentiments on some controversial points.

Dr. Comber had been for many years a great advocate for the *divine right of tithes* against Selden and others. He had published largely on this subject, under the titles of *Rights of Tithes asserted*, and *re-asserted*, and *History of Tithes*. After his promotion to the deanery of Durham, he took up the same subject again, and comprised in a new treatise, wrote by way of dialogue, the substance and strength of his whole reasoning on that point, of which he was a great master. But before he would publish it, he sent it to the Archbishop, begging his judgment of it; and asking his leave, at the same time, that he might dedicate to him his *second volume of Roman Forgeries*, then ready to be published, &c. The Archbishop's answer, so far as it related to the treatise on tithes, was as follows.

“ It is your desire that I should deal very freely with you as to my thoughts about your papers. And I will do so.

“ I think you have said as much upon the subject as can be said, and as dextrously managed your arguments, and answered objections, and all with as much perspicuity as possible. And there is enough, abundantly enough in your discourse to convince any Quaker in the

world (that is capable of being convinced by argument), not only that he may lawfully, but that he is bound by the laws of God to pay his tithes.

“ Indeed, I think that for the doing of that, there needs no more than to make out three things.

“ First, that by the laws of God, both natural and Christian, the ministers of religion ought to have not only a competent, but a decent and comfortable maintenance provided for them.

“ Secondly, that the laws of Christian countries might as well appoint this maintenance in the way of tithes as any other way. Nay, there was great reason why this way should be chosen, rather than any other; because it was sufficient for the persons to be provided for; it was most equal with respect to the persons who were to find the maintenance; it was the way most anciently and universally practised (there being footsteps of it before the law, it being commanded by the law, it being received by many of the heathen nations); and lastly, it was the way that obtained in almost all Christian countries, when churches (especially when parishes) came to be settled.

“ Thirdly, that the laws of this country have *de facto* pitched upon this way for the maintenance of the clergy, and given them as great a

right to their tithes in the place where they live, as any man can possibly have to his estate.

“ I say, if all these things be made out (as you have effectually, and beyond all contradiction, proved them all), I do not see what there needs more to the convincing of all *convincible men*, that they are as much bound in conscience to pay their tithes, as they are to pay their justest debts, or as they are not to steal or defraud; nay, and perhaps more so, upon account of God’s being more immediately concerned in the things devoted to *His service*.

“ But all this will not satisfy you, unless you also prove that tithes are due to the clergy by the express laws of God, and that we hold them by a divine right, strictly so called.

“ I do confess you have offered as fair at it as man can do; and you have put all that can be said upon that point into as fair a light as can be, but yet I must confess to you, that all your arguments, direct or consequential, singly taken, or taken altogether, do not in my opinion come up to the point that you would prove.

“ I do allow they prove thus much, that there is great reason the ministers of the Gospel should be as well *or better provided for, than the ministers of the old altar*. And I have great reason to believe, that most, if not all of the

Fathers you quote, who mentioned the payment of tithes, intended no more than this (as for the passages in St. Austin, which are the most express to your purpose, Father Paul thinks they are spurious, though yet you give good authority for them), and I can by no means be persuaded that Christians at this day are obliged by any law of God to pay a tenth, or ninth, or eleventh, or any precise proportion of their income to the maintenance of the clergy. If the law of the land had not settled this affair, perhaps sometimes (as things might have fallen out) good Christians would have thought themselves obliged to pay more than a tenth of what they had to their Minister.

“ You see, Mr. Dean, I *talk* my mind with you very freely, as I always do where I am desired. And I do it the more willingly, because I know I am not singular in this opinion. If I can judge of mankind by the conversation I have had, I guess, that in these days your hypothesis is not *that* which is generally espoused, even among *good* churchmen. As for the last Lord of Canterbury*, our good friend, to whom you meant to have shewed your discourse, I know what his opinion was in these matters. He put the payment of tithes upon

* Archbishop Tillotson.

another foot than you do, and he thought, that thereby we had the better *hold* of them, if not better *right* to them.

“ I speak not this, either with a design to dissuade or to discourage you from publishing the treatise, as it now is (for as it is, it is a good treatise, and I think it so), but purely to shew my readiness to observe your directions, which were, that I should freely speak my sense of it.

“ I am, &c.”

What effect this letter had upon the learned doctor is not certainly known, but may probably be collected from hence, that the doctor himself never let that treatise go forth into the world, though he lived long enough afterwards to have published it, had he been so minded*.

In the year 1700, Dr. Nathaniel Grew had finished his *Cosmologia Sacra*, and had it ready

* The copy which the Archbishop kept of this letter has no date, but it appears, from the mention made in it of Archbishop Tillotson's death, and Queen Mary's, that it was wrote after the year 1694; and from his answer to Dr. Comber's request, that he might dedicate his *second part of Roman Forgeries* to him, that it was wrote before the end of 1695, for in that year the said book was dedicated to him. But, after Dr. Comber's decease, which was in 1699, this *Treatise of his upon Tithes* being found wrote in his own hand, was published as a posthumous piece at the end of the second volume of his works in folio, *where it will be found.*

for the press. One chapter in it related to *Church government*, in which the doctor had undertaken to give an account of what it anciently was, and what it ought now to be. In both which articles, if he committed some mistakes, they were the more pardonable, because the subject was pretty much out of his way and course of studies; and still more so, because he had the ingenuity and modesty to submit this chapter to the judgment and correction of those who were better versed than himself in Church affairs, ancient and modern. He sent a plan of his whole work with this chapter entire, to the Archbishop, who was in great measure a stranger to him; begging his perusal and amendment of it wherever it might appear faulty. The Archbishop found objections to so many things in it, though he owned it exceedingly ingenious, that he advised him to suppress it totally; which Dr. Grew accordingly did, leaving the whole chapter out of his work, which he published the year following, with one dedication to the King, and another to the Archbishops.

As the Doctor himself thought fit, if not to retract, at least not to publish what he had written upon Church government, it is not proper or respectful to his memory, that all his private notions once entertained about it should

be divulged by another hand. Therefore, such parts only of the Archbishop's answer to him are here produced, as shew his own sentiments of the doctor's scheme in general, and of some notions in particular, which the doctor held in common with many others.

“ As for the chapter of Church government,” says he, “ which you sent me, if you will give me leave freely to declare my thoughts, I wish you would wholly leave it out of your work ; because, indeed, to me it seems foreign to the business you have undertaken ; for who would expect to meet with a discourse upon Church government in a book that is designedly written against Atheists and antiscriturists ? *What is this to the proving the truth, either of natural or revealed religion ?* I must confess, I think it comes oddly in among your other heads, all the rest being of a piece, and serving to your main design, but this looking like an heterogeneous patch.

“ And besides, when you are taking upon you the part of an advocate for the cause of our common Christianity, wherein all the parties of professors are agreed, what reason is there, or *what good end will it serve to*, that you should mingle with the common cause the particular matters that are in dispute among ourselves about Church government and Church disci-

pline? Will this much tend to the edifying of the Atheists? Will it not rather occasion the revival of disputes among ourselves, which are in *good measure laid asleep*? To this give me leave to add one thing more. I do not think it is for the interests of religion, that scruples should be put into any body's head about our constitution in Church matters, now that things have been so long settled among us. But yet, in this discourse of your's, where you are making reflections and observations upon the primitive form of Church government, you advance some things that plainly tend to the unhinging and *unsettling* not only the constitution of our Church, but of all other Churches that have been, or are in the world. That which I chiefly refer to is your discourse about the *expediency of having all confessions of faith drawn up in no other words than those of the Scripture*. If things were to be new modelled all the world over, I know not how far I might be of your opinion in this matter. But as Christendom now stands, I desire to keep our creeds and confessions of faith, and Church Articles too, as we now have them, without arraigning the wisdom of our ancestors in framing them," &c. &c.

. "If you ask me whether I have any thing to object against your scheme of Church *offices*

as mentioned in the Scriptures, I will deal freely with you. I think you have managed that argument with a great deal of niceness and a great deal of learning. But I think you have said several things upon mere conjecture, and without giving any proof for them.

“ Among these I reckon your making the prophets of the New Testament of the number or order of the seventy. First, I do not know that the seventy are ever mentioned at all, either in the Acts of the Apostles, or in the Epistles, much less as one of the orders for the government of the Church. But if they were an order (as it is not improbable), then methinks there is as fair occasion given to you to alter a little your scheme of Church officers, and to make it run thus.

“ That as at the beginning of Christianity, when the Apostles first went about to preach the Gospel, and to found Churches, there were three sorts of Church officers, viz. the Apostles themselves who presided over all, and next to them the seventy Elders, and after them the Septemvirate; all which were extraordinary. So when Churches came to be settled upon that foot, or in that form, they were to continue; then, in the place of these, came three sorts of stated ordinary officers, viz. the Presbyters (as we now use the word) who answered to the

seventy, the Deacons who answered to the Septemvirate, and lastly, as the Apostles went off the stage, the Bishops who answered to the Apostles. This, if I remember right, is the scheme of Bishop Andrews; *and as for the last part of it, I believe it has the suffrage of the best writers, both ancient and modern.*

“ But whether the seventy were an order or no, I think it wants proof, that the *Prophets* so often mentioned in the New Testament, were of that order or number.

“ You may as well reckon all the other gifted men that had the power of speaking with tongues, composing of hymns and prayers on a sudden discerning of spirits, &c. to be of the same number or order; for I suppose all these made use of their gifts for the edification of Christians in their assemblies, as well as for the conversion of heathens; and had some share in the government of the Church. For this, I refer to the 14th chapter of the First Epistle to the Corinthians; *at the time of writing which Epistle, there seems to have been no stated or settled officers or pastors in that Church; but the affairs thereof to be administered by these inspired persons.*

“ There is no doubt but the Apostles, in all the Churches they founded, did take care, either by themselves or their delegates, as there

was need and occasion, *to settle a standing ministry there for the government of them, &c.* but you seem to affirm two things which I can by no means agree with you in.

“ The one is, that as some Churches had bishops superior to Presbyters, *so many were without them; nay, according to the calculation, most were without them.*

“ The other is that, when bishops took place *it was the Presbyters that chose them to preside among them, and transferred upon them the title of bishops, and out of respect to them, forbore some part of their office, in not ordaining, &c.*

“ As for the first point, I thus far agree with you, that it cannot be proved from the Acts of the Apostles, or from St. Paul’s Epistles, that there were these two distinct orders or degrees (call them by what name you please) in *all Churches, or in most; nay, indeed, it cannot be proved, as I said, that in some Churches to whom St. Paul wrote Epistles there were any settled Church officers or pastors at all.* But then I say it may be *proved* from the Scriptures, that even in the Apostles times, there were bishops superior to Presbyters *in more Churches than are mentioned by St. Paul; as for instance in the seven Churches of Asia, to the Angel of which our Lord by St. John directs his Epistles, which Angels I think may be proved both by*

the authority of the ancientest writers, and by the Epistles themselves, (see Bishop Usher's Discourse of the Lydian Asia), to have been *settled* bishops distinct from and superior to the Presbytery; and it may likewise be proved, (as far as the testimony of all Ecclesiastical authors we have will go for the proof of such a matter), that immediately after the Apostles times, this form of Church government, by bishops superior to Presbyters, obtained universally in all Christian Churches all over the world, none excepted. *So that all Churches had them, and none was without them.*

“ And if this be admitted as matter of fact, (as I will take it to be so till *some instance be given to the contrary*), then I say this universal agreement among all Churches (though never so much distant from each other, and that so near to the Apostles times) in the form of Church government, is a great argument to me, that the second assertion of yours I now mentioned, is not true, viz. *that Bishops obtained their superiority over the Presbyters by the Presbyters own act, and their voluntary yielding to forbear the exercise of their powers that were given to them in their ordination.*

“ I am of your opinion, that however they might oblige their president by giving him one of their names, yet they could no more anni-

hilate or give away their power, than they could unpresbyter themselves.

“ But I say further, if these powers were inherent or essential to their office, *I do not know how they could depart from the exercise of them.* Nor can I imagine that ever they did. And this is my argument for it. Though you might suppose two, or three, or twenty Churches, so easy as for the sake of peace and convenience, to be willing to devolve all their rights of *ordination and confirmation* upon their president whom they had chosen, yet that all the Churches in all nations should conspire to do it, and that within half a century after the death of the Apostles, and this when they had no opportunity of consulting one another, and no provincial or general councils to settle that affair; *this to me seems incredible.* And, therefore, I believe the distinction of Bishops and Presbyters, as to their several powers, was not introduced by the consent of private men, but by the direction of the Apostles or inspired persons, because it is evident from all ecclesiastical history from the beginning, that Bishops always exercised these powers of ordination, &c. and the Presbyters never did it.

“ What may be done in a case of necessity, (as that of the Reformed Churches abroad, and other cases that may be put), I now dispute not with you.

“ Indeed I *will dispute nothing at all with you*; for I design no more in this paper than only to give you my thoughts on some of these points which your discourse treats of I take your application to me in this affair very kindly, and I hope it will be a means that you and I shall be better acquainted. I do assure you, I have a great respect for you, and shall, in all instances, endeavour to show myself, honoured sir,

“ Your’s, &c.

“ JO. EBOR.”

“ *Bishophthorp, Nov. 26, 1700.*”

If his notions concerning both the evidence and the authority of the primitive plan of Church government by bishops (which may be gathered from this letter) be well considered; he will seem to have been incapable of thinking that this plan or rule of government was alterable at discretion, or for convenience, or to be dispensed with on any other account than that of absolute or *mere necessity*. Yet he is one of the many learned men cited in Bishop Burnet’s Preface* to his Exposition on the Thirty-nine Articles, (which was published the year before

* Both the most Reverend Archbishops, with several of the Bishops, and a great many learned divines, have also read it. I have reason to believe they read it over *severely*.

this letter to Dr. Grew was wrote), as approving that work, and by consequence admitting whatever is advanced therein concerning a lawful authority of ordinations in certain cases, exclusive of bishops, and yet owned by the Church of England, and capable of being supported or justified by reasons of state or of policy, as well as of necessity, which passages in the Exposition of Article 23, in relation to the Reformed Churches abroad, and *in excuse for them all, without exception*, it will be hard to reconcile with the archbishop's principles, and veneration for the primitive and apostolical form of Church government; and, therefore, it is not easy to give account how he should consent that they should pass the press under the sanction of his approbation. He was indeed as tender and wary in speaking of the Reformed Churches, which were without episcopacy as most men; neither did he take upon him to condemn or unchurch them for a defect owing to necessity, wherever that could be pleaded: yet he never carried his apologies for them so high as to vindicate their claims of being *true Churches*, purely because *they used that plea* of necessity, knowing how hard it is to distinguish between a real and a pretended necessity, and how nearly the desire of being justified by it, *borders upon a desire of not being exempted from it*. He

might not be willing to enter into any dispute, with Bishop Burnet upon this subject, (any more than with Dr. Grew upon a like occasion), but might content himself with advising his Lordship rather to decline a public declaration of his private opinion about it, than give the world occasion to say, that he spoke the sense of the Church of England, or the current opinion of our divines upon that head. It was thus he prevented that same learned author and other bishops publishing their private sentiments (though they were his own likewise) concerning the validity of lay baptisms, (a point left undecided by the Church of England in her Articles, Offices, &c.) as was taken notice of in a former part of this life; and that he gave the same or like caution to my Lord of Salisbury upon perusing his Exposition, appears the more probable, from the abatement in the approbation of the Metropolitans, that his Lordship makes in the next paragraph in his Preface. Where he says, “*I do not pretend to impose this upon the reader as a work of authority; for even our most Reverend Metropolitans read it only as private divines, without so severe a canvassing of all particulars, as must have been expected if this had been intended to pass for an authorized work under a public stamp.*” But there is scarce room to enter further into this enquiry, since there are

no authentic testimonies to be found among the Archbishop's papers about his revival of that book, or his sentiments concerning it, as there are about books of less consequence submitted to his examination.

It appears indeed from a passage beforementioned in these memoirs, that he did not go those lengths in his censures and reflections upon the foreign Reformed Churches which some other divines did; for he extended his charity so far towards them, as to declare *that if he were abroad, he could communicate with those where he happened to be.* Yet when M. La Mothe was desirous to have his permission to *publish* this, he had reasons (which were hinted at before upon mentioning this request of M. La Mothe's, with his answer) why he should chuse at that time that this declaration of his should not be made public. But that, nevertheless, he did not depart from this sentiment, is pretty evident from what he wrote afterwards to *Mr. Robert Nelson*, upon reading and weighing what the learned *Dr. Hickes* had said upon the subject of the Reformed Churches abroad, in his *Answer to the Rights, &c.* *Mr. Nelson* had sent him that book immediately after it was published in 1707, which favour he acknowledged by letter; and having called it a very learned book, and declared that he had read it

with a great deal of pleasure, "I do think," says he, "that he has effectually confuted the *Rights of the Church*, and has, beyond contradiction, shewed the nonsense and ridiculousness of those principles upon which that work is built. Neither am I displeased with the warmth and sharpness with which he writes; for I think such men as make it their business to expose the institutions of our Saviour, under the notion of priest-craft, ought to be treated with the utmost severity and contempt, especially if it be done with such seriousness and gravity becoming a minister of the gospel, as *Dr. Hickes* has done it.

"But I do not know," says he, "whether I be yet so High Church as to be able to come up to all the Dean's notions asserted in this book. His grounds and foundations I have always looked upon as unquestionably true; and most of his superstructures likewise: but as to some things he has advanced, I must confess I am yet doubtful, particularly as to what he says about the *Foreign Churches of the Protestants that have not episcopacy among them*. Though yet I was extremely pleased with that serious pathetic address which he has made to them."

Although he does not mention particularly what it was he excepted against in *Dr. Hickes'*

book, with regard to the Foreign Protestants; yet it was more probable from what follows, that he had in his eye *the lawfulness or unlawfulness of communicating with them*. For he says a little farther, “ Dr. Hickes, in his Preface, p. 205. affirms, that *My Lord Chancellor Clarendon did not think a call with the Presbyterian Ordination to be lawful; and for that reason never would communicate with the French Protestants, neither in his first nor second being in France. Now M. De la Mothe affirms**, that though at first being at Paris with the King, (before the Restoration), he neither communicated himself with the Church at Clarenton, nor would advise the King to do it, but opposed it all he could; yet afterwards when he was banished out of England, and came to reside at Montpellier, he did then regularly enough frequent the Protestant Assemblies at Montpellier.

“ *In the former case, (says my author), when he was at Paris, he acted as a Minister of State;*

* This Book was printed in the same year, and published much about the same time with *Dr. Hickes' Answer to the Rights*, viz. An. 1707. It was dedicated to the Queen. The title of it, *Entretiens sur la Correspondence Fraternelle de l'Eglise Anglicane avec les autres Eglises Reformees*. The design of it was to show, that our Church has always owned the Protestant Churches abroad to be *true Churches*; and that accordingly we have always had a brotherly correspondence with them.

but when he was at Montpellier, he acted as a Protestant," &c.*

Without descending into a closer examination of this, or any other particulars, he concludes, "that he had a good deal to say about our communion office which he had not time then to write, but should be glad to discourse with him about the first time they met."

It may not seem improper to take notice in this place, that he was very instrumental in bringing back that great and good man, Mr. Nelson, to communion with the Established

* But M. La Mothe's mistake in this representation of Lord Chancellor Hyde, was fully disproved by Henry Earl of Clarendon, in a letter that he wrote to Dr. Hickes the latter end of this year, Oct. 22, 1707; wherein he calls it an injurious reflection on his father's memory, and asserts, that his father was never present at the Huguenot Assemblies at Montpellier, save once or twice at most, and that then he went, as some others have done, out of mere curiosity. There being held at one of those times a synod of their clergy, where his Lordship was much dissatisfied with the manner of their debates and deportment. And he further affirms, that he had a fragment of a letter wrote by his father not long before his death, shewing his reasons, under his own hand, why he would not frequent the assemblies at Quevilly; and wherein he likewise tells his thoughts of the French Huguenots, both as to their religion and their *politics*.

Having an opportunity from so good an authority to set this piece of history right, it was but just to do so upon the accidental quotation of M. La Mothe's words.

Church, from which he lived in separation at the time when this letter was wrote, viz. 1707, and for some time after. It was impossible that two such religious men, who were so intimate with each other, and spent many hours together in private conversation, should not frequently discuss the reasons that divided them in Church Communion. It was in January 1709, after the death of Dr. William Lloyd, the deprived Bishop of Norwich, that the Archbishop renewed his application to *Mr. Nelson*, “*I fell upon a discourse, (says he, Diary, Friday, January 27), with Mr. Nelson, about his continuing in the schism now after the Bishop of Norwich is dead. He tells me, that he is not without doubt but he will further consider the matter; and when he comes to a resolution after enquiry how matters stand, he will persist in it.*” What passed in particular between Mr. Nelson and the Archbishop, who were frequently together about that time,* is not noticed further than that it was on February 15th, that the Archbishop received the “*good news,*” as he called it, “*of Mr. Nelson’s intention to return to our Communion;*” who, on the Easter-day following, received the Sacrament from the Archbishop’s hands in one of the Churches of

* Viz. Jan. 30. Feb. 5, and 17, and 25. Mar. 5, and 18. On all these days Mr. Nelson is mentioned in the diary as a visitant.

the city, the memorandum of which is in these words, "April 9th, being Easter-day, I preached at St. Mildred's Poultry, and administered the Sacrament; where was present Mr. Nelson, which was the first time that he had communicated in the Sacrament *since the Revolution*. I gave the Sacrament likewise to Mr. D'Oyley, whom I* had reconciled to our Church; he having been educated a Papist."

But to return to the subject from whence we have digressed a little, viz. his candour in judging of authors and their books. *In points of controversy*, calm, meek, and modest reasonings, made strong impressions upon him in favour of the author, though he could not concur with him in his principles and conclusions; and the greater evidences any writer gave of his temper and charity, he judged him entitled still the more to the best construction that could be put upon his mistakes, or mismanagement of his arguments. If indeed an author did manifestly betray base principles and a corrupt design in what he published, or if he treated serious and

* This reconciliation was made in form after the Archbishop had been instrumental in his conversion. "Thursday, Mar. 23. At eleven o'clock I went to Whitehall, to receive Mr. D'Oyley, educated in the Church of Rome, to our Communion, which I did after he had made and signed a solemn declaration of his renouncing the errors of Popery, and desiring to be admitted to our Communion."

sacred things in a scornful and ludicrous manner, then he thought that warmth and sharpness of stile was not only justifiable, but requisite and proper; especially when it was seasoned with seriousness and gravity, and carried the marks of true zeal for the honour of God and religion. And this was what he approved in Dr. Hicke's Preface to his Two Discourses abovementioned, in answer to the author of the *Rights*. He liked the manner as well as the matter of the reply; and thought both of them pertinent and proper. But then, in all cases where serious and sincere persons were to be dealt with, whose writings did neither discover pride, or perverseness of disposition, nor were conducted with artifices and cunning, he would allow of nothing but what had the stamp not only of sincerity and charity, but of mildness and *good nature* also upon it; and observed, that through failure in these, more *wrong* was oftentimes done to persons than *right* to arguments in the common way of carrying on controversies; especially in that point of *charging consequences*, and imputing worse things to a man than he ever meant. Monsieur le Clerk, who thought he had great reason to complain of this kind of treatment from many of those who opposed his sentiments, was much affected with the equity and impartiality he discovered in the Archbishop,

with respect to himself and his writings, and told Dr. Cockburn (then in Holland) “*that the Archbishop of York had more true candour than was to be found in a thousand others; that he read and judged more impartially than most people, and would not exaggerate every different sentiment to a condemnation.*” Tis true indeed he esteemed M. Le Clerk for his genius, industry, and skill, in many parts of learning, and withal “*believed him to be an honest man,*” but too free and incautious in declaring himself upon some subjects, without giving sufficient and satisfactory reasons for his opinions. He would tell him the objections were made against his writings, and signify the offence that was taken at them in England, and put him upon the explication and defence of himself. And this drew from him sometimes letters of justification; and sometimes of complaint and expostulation on the severity of his censures, which he would conclude with these or the like expressions: *Hæc paullo liberius apud te R. præsul cui scio charitate Christiana et equitate nihil antiquius esse. Or, Hæc apud te aperte et sine fuco profiteri me debere existimari ne me alium putes quam sum, et semper fui.* It will not be improper to add one letter of his to M. Le Clerk, to shew the free and open manner of his correspondence with him. The following will also serve another purpose, and

vindicate him from a reflection cast upon him by a French writer.

“ A Monsieur Le Clerk,
 “ Professeur a Amsterdam.”

“ *Lond. Old Stile, March 31, 1704.*”

“ Honoured Sir,

“ I cannot leave this town, which I mean to do in two days, without returning my thanks for the favour of your last, and the present that came with it of your third *Bibliothèque Choisie*. I read with pleasure your account of authors, and your observations upon them, as often as I have any spare time, which is indeed hard to be got here. Our people here that read the defence of your version, in the last article but one, are willing to acquit you of *Arianism* or *Socinianism*; but they say you talk like a *Sabellian* or *Nestorian*, and some of them are very angry that you charge the *fathers of the Nicene Council* with being *Tritheists*.

“ I have the same opinion of Mr. Dodwell's *Parænesis* that you have*; and I find that those

* M. Le Clerk's opinion of that book is expressed in his letter thus,—“ *Legi, non ita pridem, H. Dodwelli Parænesin de Schismate Anglicano. Quæ minime mihi placuit: nec unquam credidisset talem virum fore Schismatis usque adeo injusti fantorem. Nec mihi profecto hîc suas innumerabiles conjecturas probabit quæ vel solâ negatione omnes in auras abeunt,*” &c.

of his own party here liked it so little, that they did all that they could to hinder him from publishing it.

“ I promised to send you Cyrill’s works (of Jerusalem,) and the Greek Testament lately printed at Oxford. The former I have sent to Mr. Varennes for you, as also Mr. Newton’s discourse of Light and Colours, which is newly come out; since I know you have writ a System of Natural Philosophy, I thought a treatise of this nature would not be unacceptable to you; especially coming from a man whom we here look upon as one of the best mathematicians and natural philosophers in the world.

“ The Greek Testament I have not sent, because, in truth, I look upon it *as not worth the sending*. But I hope to make you amends by sending you Dr. Mills’s Testament within a year; he having in my hearing promised the Queen to publish it in that time. And indeed *it is a noble work*. I hope likewise I shall in due time send you the Old Testament of the Septuagint version; for that is preparing by Mr. Grabe and others, with all the various readings, according to the method of Dr. Mill.

“ The Bishop of Worcester’s book about the seventy weeks of Daniel, still sticks upon his hands. I believe you will not like his hypothesis, but there will be a great many things in it that will please you.

“ And now, Sir, I must own myself obliged to you for all the respects and civilities that, without any desert of mine, I have received from you; particularly the honour you did me in prefixing my name to your *Harmony of the Gospels*. I am sensible I did not make such an acknowledgment of that honour as it deserved. But I would have made a better, if I had been richer.

“ I mention this, because I hear my illiberality to you is taken notice of in some of your prints. I know you took it ill that I should be reflected on upon that account; and I thank you for it. But in truth that author is so far in the right, that I was by no means to be excused for so poor a present, supposing that I was in circumstances to make a better. But not knowing my circumstances, he was in the wrong to blame me for it. This I can truly say, that I esteem and honour you, and have a grateful sense of your respects to me. And as it is in my power, shall be always glad to make suitable acknowledgments of them.

“ I have no more to add to this long trouble I give you, but that I heartily pray God to bless you and all your labours for the public good, and that I am your very affectionate friend and servant,

“ JO. EBOR.”

The occasion that was given for this apology in the close of the letter, was a reflection on his generosity by the author of a libel entitled *Les Interests de l'Angleterre mal entendus dans le Guerre presente*; who, in the preface to the said piece, takes occasion, *in order to shew what the English are, to speak of their generosity; of which he said he had once a great opinion. But now he had quite lost it, because he found the English had none*; and then instances in the present which the Archbishop of York* had made to *M. Le Clerk* for the dedication of his *Harmony of the Gospels*. This was perhaps the only time that his *munificence* was ever called in question. And how unseasonable an instance of his parsimony this is, will appear from hence, that how small soever that present was (and for which he freely gives the true reason), it was accompanied with a promise, and succeeded by a dona-

* The French writer says only, *Le Premier Prelat du Royaume*, probably through ignorance which of the two archbishops took place. For that he meant that of *York* is plain, from his mentioning the *Harmony* dedicated to him, in which he could not mistake. But the editor, as it may be presumed, not aware of the circumstance by which that expression should have been corrected, explains it by this note in the margin, *My Lord Archevêque de Canterbury*. Whereby, though he truly denoted the first prelate in the kingdom, he undesignedly fastened the reflection upon a wrong person. Therefore justice is done to both the Archbishops in clearing up this matter.

tion of the most valuable books printed in England, which he knew were to M. Le Clerk as money. When he first thanked him for his dedication in 1699, he looked upon the gold he sent him as nothing. “Be pleased, sir, (says he) to accept my humble thanks for your undeserved kindness, and which I should be glad to express otherwise than in words, if it was in my power. I have read your book with a great deal both of pleasure and instruction, though I cannot say I am of your sentiments in every thing I meet with there. But you will no more be angry with me for that, than I am with you, whom I must profess most highly to esteem for your learned works.”

And then, as for the recompence of the favour he deferred making it till he came to London, *where*, he tells M. Le Clerk, “*he hoped to meet with some occasion of making his acknowledgments with a better grace; which he accordingly did by presents of new books, as M. Le Clerk himself gratefully acknowledged in his letters. In one of which, 1703, he has these words:—* “*His (scil-prioribus litteris) gratias agebam ob munus egregium librorum, quibus Bibliothecam meam ditare tibi visum erat. Quam obrem iterum gratias ago quam possum maximas.*” And in answer to the above quoted letter of March 31, 1704, he says as follows:—“*Est cæteroquin illust: præsul,*

cur tibi summas agam gratias propter libros quos ad me mittendos Bibliopolæ commisisti. Bibliotheca mea dudum muneribus tuis superbit, nec parum ea accessione dilabitur. Cave credideris quenquam vivere qui me grato animo superet et qui minus sibi debere credat præsertim a viris tantæ dignitatis quantum in te divina Providentia contulit."

For these reasons M. Le Clerk expressed himself heartily concerned at the unjust reflection cast on his benefactor by the French writer. Though he supposed that it was rather designed as a slur upon his Harmony, as if it deserved little reward, than as an aspersion upon his patron*. "*Existimationem tuam,*" says he, "*quæ supra eorum malignitatem posita est lædere non tam voluerunt quam meam.*" The sum mentioned in this preface to have been given is, *dix-huit guinèes*; but by M. Le Clerk's own account, it was not so much (unless perhaps paid in foreign

* There is some colour for this from the expression, "*Qu'il ne fut si chetif que par le peu de cas qu'il foi soit du Livre;*" i. e. his present would not have been so pitiful, but for the little account he made of the book. Though possibly the writer intended by this to reflect more upon the patron than the editor.

"'Tis probable that the present was made in Portugal pieces of £1 16s. each, ten of which make up the sum of £18. So that upon the supposition that the French author mistook guineas for pounds both accounts will be reconciled." *This note by the late Granville Sharp.*

gold); for his words are, “ *Beneficentiæ tuæ monumentum in Bibliotheca mea sunt undecim volumina quibus decem tuos nummos permutavi, additâ liberalitatis inscriptione ut ejus memoria maneret dum ea erunt volumina, sed nunquam ex animo meo delenda.*”

Upon many other occasions he made presents of books (and some of great use and value) both to private persons and to *public libraries*. And it may be truly said, that considering his circumstances, no man was more munificent for the encouragement of learning than he was. Nor were his endeavours ever wanting (though not always successful) *for promoting men of the best learning*, and encouraging them with rewards proportionably to their merits. Inso-much that there were very few men in England of extraordinary knowledge and literature in the age he lived, to whom his patronage, recommendation, or interest were not at some time or other highly useful. Such as *Bull, Beveridge, Prideaux, Bentley, Potter, Mills, Grabe, &c.* From some of them the acknowledgments to him are still extant, which may not only without injury, but with honour to their memory be here inserted.

The first is a letter from *Dr. Beveridge*, wrote the day after his consecration, and breathes the primitive spirit of that great man.

“ *Hampstead, July 17, 1704.*”

“ May it please your Grace,

“ All things being then, and not till then prepared for it, I was confirmed upon Saturday last, the 15th instant, and consecrated the Sunday following, which I was at first very unwilling to consent to, being desirous to have had more time to myself between the hurry of a confirmation dinner, and the great solemnity of the consecration. But there were but three bishops in or about the town, *Rochester, Bath and Wells*, and *Chichester*. The last whereof had appointed business in the country, which would oblige him to leave the city before the next Lord's day. So that, if it had not been done then, it must have been put off for a great while longer, which I was very loth it should, for fear the diocese might suffer by it.

“ And now the business is over, I could not but take the first opportunity of acquainting your Grace with it, and of begging the favour of you, *that as you was an instrument, I believe, in God's hand, to call me to this high office in the Church*, so you would be pleased to assist me with your earnest prayers to Almighty God, that I may be directed and enabled by him faithfully to discharge the duty he hath laid upon me, to the honour of his great name, the edifying of his Church, and to the service of

her sacred Majesty. Which I have the more ground to hope for, because, *as your Grace knows*, I had no hand in seeking after it myself, but undertook it in pure obedience to the will of God, manifested in his directing her Majesty to name me to it, whom she had so little knowledge of. But though she did not, yet God knows how unfit I am for so great and high a station in his Church, and notwithstanding hath called me to it; and therefore I trust in him to carry me through it so, that I may give a good account to him of it at the last day, which, that I may, I again most humbly desire your prayers for, my Lord, your truly affectionate friend and humble servant,

“ WILL. ST. ASAPH.”

What follows is the conclusion of a long letter from Dr. Mill. But it is all that pertains to our present purpose.

“ I have something else of direct concernment to myself, which I beg leave to acquaint your Lordship with. The 14th of August last, I took possession of (*what I owe under God to your Grace's goodness and intercession,*) my prebend of Canterbury. I found Mr. Dean and every body there extremely kind and obliging. And I cannot look upon the easiness of the place, and its suitableness to my genius and

present circumstances, without reflecting upon this preferment as a very peculiar blessing of the Divine Providence towards me. And accordingly I cannot but in all sincerity profess, that as it has pleased God, *so in getting me this your Grace has been a better benefactor to me than if you had procured me the best deanery in England. I have every thing I want, and what I value above all things leisure to study.* And if God give me life and health, I hope your Grace shall see the fruits of your benefaction. I daily remember your Grace in my prayers, and remain, with all possible gratitude, your Grace's most obliged and most obedient faithful servant,

“ JO. MILL.”

“ *Oxon, Nov. 14, 1704.*”

The next is a letter from *Mr. Potter*, afterwards Divinity Professor at Oxford, and bishop of that see; and at length Archbishop of Canterbury, but in great esteem, early in life, for his *Greek Antiquities*, and other specimens of his learning.

“ My most honoured Lord,

“ Beside many other favours for which I am indebted to your Grace, there is now one more, somewhat indeed unexpected, but which I must impute to your character and recom-

mendation of me; that Dr. Hody being now to leave Lambeth, the Archbishop of Canterbury has fixed on me for his successor. As there is no person whose kind intentions I have more experienced, and to whom I have greater obligations than your Grace, so I should have accounted it a singular happiness (if Providence had so ordered) to have lived under your Grace's patronage, and in my native country; and though my present circumstances render me incapable of that, yet I shall always retain a most grateful sense of your Grace's great and undeserved kindness to me, and esteem it a chief part of my felicity to be reckoned in the number of,

“ My Lord,

“ Your Grace's most devoted servants,

“ JO. POTTER.”

“ *Oxford, June 19, 1705.*”

As for *Dr. Prideaux*, the learned and laborious Dean of Norwich, we must borrow our testimony from the Archbishop's own letters, for the doctor himself had been possessed with an opinion not only that he was out of favour with him, but that he had been injured by him, notwithstanding their long acquaintance at Norwich, while Dr. Sharp was dean there. And this persuasion was so strong as to discontinue

a correspondence for some years; till, upon occasion of the doctor's publishing *his Life of Mahomet*, and sending the Archbishop a copy, he received so friendly a letter from him in return for it, that he began to think he had been imposed upon, and resolved to be thoroughly satisfied of the Archbishop's disposition towards him; upon which he laid open his grievances in a letter, "*desiring he might be eased of the burthen he had so long laid under, from the notion of his Grace's being his enemy, as had been by more than one reported to him.*" And this produced the following frank declaration from the Archbishop.

" July 20, 1697.

" Dear Sir,

" I had the favour of your's, and because you so earnestly desire an answer to the first part thereof, I will give you a *sincere* one, though I must thereby own more than will be pleasing to you.

" I never was your enemy in my life, nor ever represented you as an ill man, nor ever detracted from any virtue or good gift you were owner of (as God hath endowed you with a great many), nor ever thought, much less said, that you pursued any sinister or unworthy design in any of your actions; but, on the

contrary, have stood up for you against those that would have possessed me with that opinion. But this I must confess, that heretofore sometimes (according to the liberty used among intimate friends in private conversation, of talking *about persons and things*) I may have complained of the too great warmth of your temper, which now and then created uneasiness to me, and others of our society; and *in this I spoke but what I felt*; and without any malice or ill will to you, I have discoursed with your present Bishop of Norwich more freely concerning you, than with any other man in the world. I desire you to ask him (and I freely give my consent he should tell you all), whether I ever defrauded you of your due commendations, or ever spoke worse of you than this I have now owned amounts to. I am sorry for the afflictions you have lately met with at Norwich. And I do assure you, as little as you think I am your friend, I should be heartily glad you were in more easy circumstances," &c.

That he was very sincere in all this, will further appear from the preference he gave Dr. Prideaux to another person, who was one of his favourites, when the deanery of Norwich lay between them. In his letter to my Lord of Canterbury, August 3d, 1700.

“ My Lord,

“ I had the favour of your Grace’s yesterday, wherein you ask me who I would desire should succeed in the deanery of Norwich, Dr. Prideaux or Dr. Trimnell.

“ Why truly, my Lord, though I have a most high esteem of Dr. Trimnell, and do most heartily love him, knowing his great worth and goodness, and modesty, with which I have been charmed ever since I have been acquainted with him; yet, as to this particular place, my former obligations to Dr. Prideaux, and his long services to that Church, and the circumstances he is in, which are unlikely to be ever mended, if he be disappointed of this place; I say, these considerations sway with me to give my vote for him, rather than Dr. Trimnell or any other. But this I say, with great submission to the judgment of your Grace, and the rest of my brethren the Commissioners, and particularly of the Bishop of Norwich; who I wish may have satisfaction in the choice of dean to his cathedral.”

But Dr. Prideaux being disappointed of the deanery, then the Archbishop, upon the vacancy of it two years afterwards, applied to my Lord Nottingham in his behalf, using these words in his letter wrote out of Yorkshire, May 16, 1702. . . . “ My other business is with relation

to Dr. Prideaux, of Norwich; Dr. Fairfax, the dean of that church, is dead; and he humbly begs your Lordship's recommendation to the Queen, that he may succeed in that deanery. You know Dr. Prideaux's character as well as I. He has some faults, but he has a great many virtues, *and I hope he will do good service in that post.* I believe the Bishop of Norwich will not oppose him; if he do, I have nothing to say. If he do not, I would readily give him my vote, if the Queen should condescend to ask my opinion."

This application had the good fortune to succeed, through Lord Nottingham's assistance, to whom the doctor afterwards ascribed the whole merit of his promotion.

He denied himself to nobody who had either a request or a complaint to make. Nor did he refuse to converse with any who were admitted to him with great cheerfulness and condescension. In large and mixed companies he had something to say to every body; those who were the least known to him, or who could least expect, on account of their age or condition of life, to share in his respects, never went from him without some sufficient mark of his notice and regards. And he had this peculiar happiness, that though he talked so much, and in so free and open, and, in appearance, careless a manner, yet he did it with

so great a guard upon himself, that he hardly ever gave offence to any that sat with him; and very rarely occasion to reproach himself for his inadvertency. His conversation was contrived and adapted for the entertainment of all that heard him; and it may be added, for their edification too; because he frequently, and as often as decently he could, introduced into his discourse serious and religious topics, and such things as might make his company either wiser or better. And this he did so prudently, both as to measure and manner, that it was disagreeable to none, but welcome to most; but though these were his darling subjects, and such as he most delighted to dwell upon in his daily converse with his own family, and with *such of his friends as he knew it would be very acceptable to*; yet there was no topic so trifling, and so much out of his own way, but he would pleasantly enter into it, for the sake of making himself agreeable to such as were addicted to that sort of conversation, and pleased with it. A noted fox-hunter in Yorkshire that dined with him, was surprised at his entertaining him so suitably with a discourse about horses, and said, after he came away, *that surely the Archbishop had been reading the Gentleman's Jockey!*

To his clergy he ever expressed the utmost civility and respect. The meanest man in his

diocese who wore a gown (provided he were not obnoxious to his censure) was *welcome at his table* as often as he pleased; and was received with as much affability and kindness, as if Providence had set them both upon the level. And though he had four public days in the week for the entertainment of strangers and reception of company, yet his house was always open and his table public to the clergy; that is, there was no time when they might not have ready access to him, and entertainment too, if they pleased. And this they knew; and as the *convenience of dispatching business, or finding him most at leisure required it, they made use of this liberty.*

It must, indeed, be supposed (for it was unavoidable), that this great courtesy and affability would sometimes prove troublesome and inconvenient to himself. Every body not having thought and discretion enough to treat his candour with that forbearance of tedious impertinences and unnecessary importunities which it deserved from all. Some thought his goodness and civility in this respect extended a little too far; and it really was sometimes so grievous to him, that he was almost put out of humour by tedious, unseasonable, and inconsiderate visitants. *Yet he rather chose to submit to this inconvenience, than put on the least appearance of a haughty*

reservedness, or do what might be interpreted by any person a failure of those respects which he had a forward inclination to shew to all.

His acts of private friendship or good offices done to particular people, both by *his advice and his purse*, are so many and various, that an account of them at large is not to be attempted; but a summary view may be taken of them under the following articles.

1. Resolving doubts and removing unnecessary scruples of conscience.

2. Making peace in divided families by accommodating their differences.

3. Acts of liberality and charity to persons in want.

As to the first of these, viz. the calming disquieted minds and *directing weak and tender consciences*, which is the greatest act of kindness imaginable, he was singularly serviceable, both from his readiness and dexterity in solving such difficulties as commonly perplex the scrupulous; and from the opinion people had of his fidelity and skill this way, which occasioned a frequent resort to him of those who could personally attend him, as well as *frequent applications by letter* from those who lived at a distance, or who were willing to conceal their persons, though they discovered their cases. And it is to this latter kind of application that

those written cases are owing, which, with his resolutions of them, are preserved among his papers. Some of them to which his answers (whereof he took copies) are found entire, are thrown into the Appendix. Those of hypochondriacs excepted, both because they are not so properly cases of consciences, as descriptions of the sad effects of *religious melancholy*, and because all the advice that he gave, or could give to persons under this distemper, as a divine, may be found collected together in the third volume of his Sermons, which is altogether made up of discussions on those religious doubts and questions that so miserably disturb and distract those who are afflicted with this malady.

The next article of his private good offices to be taken notice of, was his *making peace and compounding differences*, such especially as were domestic, or arose among near relatives; which, though usually of the worst consequence if not made up in time by some friendly hand interposing, yet are commonly the most difficult to be healed, and the most dangerous to be meddled with by a third person, as being the least capable of being taken up and managed without giving offence. Yet, such was his address on these occasions, that he scarce ever disoblged the parties at variance, whether he had success in reconciling them or not. And

how tenderly and inoffensively he managed such points will in some measure appear by an instance or two, wherein he was obliged to proceed by letter. In one case to a gentleman of his own diocese, who had *discarded his daughter* upon pretences too frivolous to justify so great a resentment. In another to a gentleman of fortune and figure, who *had put away his lady* and obliged her to sue for a separate maintenance. In a third, to a person who was a stranger to him, out of mere compassion for his lady and daughter lying under the highest affliction. These letters are put all together at the end of the *first Appendix*.

And as to those other *acts of mercy and charity*, to which his purse was subservient, and which is the remaining article of his good offices, no testimonies can be expected from himself, and yet howsoever many of them may have been concealed, yet they are not altogether without testimony.

He decimated the whole profits of his preferments and estates. Whatever he received as his own property, and for his own use, one tenth of it was set apart and sanctified to the uses of charity. The design of this rule or disposition seemed to be either the settlement of such proportion upon the poor, as a *kind of debt*, without discharging which the ordinary

claims of mankind to his relief could not be duly answered; or the making *an offering to God of that proportion* (by way of acknowledgment of his temporal blessings) *not to be interrupted in consideration of any private convenience to his family*, or omitted without some extraordinary and unexpected reduction of his fortunes, which might make it necessary or highly reasonable to depart from this rule. Whichsoever of these reasons it was that moved him, as they had done Dr. Hammond (see his life by Dr. Fell) and Mr. Herbert (see his Life by Isaac Walton), and others before, to proceed by the rule of decimation, yet as by God's blessing he had no temptations to break through it, so he had frequent invitations and a very ready inclination to enlarge his good works beyond it. But to what degree was a secret to all but himself and *his faithful bursar, his equally charitable lady*, who, from the day of their marriage, as was above related, managed his purse and kept his accounts, and disbursed to his order.

Among the several occasions upon which he demonstrated both his piety, liberality, and charity, those which follow deserve to be remembered.

He granted yearly pensions, some of five, some of ten pounds, for the better supply of small cures,

and chapelries, where the stipend was so inconsiderable, that none could serve for it. And this was usually *done upon condition that the parishioners, or neighbouring gentlemen, or inhabitants would yearly subscribe as much as he gave*. By which means provision was made for the service of God in several places which had otherwise been destitute of it.

He would likewise *remit a part of a fine*, and in some cases the whole fine, upon the renewal of a lease, on condition that the lessees would engage, by themselves or their tenants, to pay so much yearly towards the augmentation of the stipend of the minister of the place where the leasehold lay, and where the ancient *and appropriated* stipend or provision for the minister was scandalously mean*.

* He gave a pretty remarkable instance of his public spirit and generous respects to societies founded *for the encouragement of learning*, as well as of kindress to his poor clergy, in the following particular case.

A college in one of our universities held a lease of a farm worth 55*l.* or 60*l.* per annum, according to his books, and had let it run so long, that upon the most moderate computation, the fine should have been 120*l.* And such a fine, he told them, he should expect from his other tenants; but that he had too much respect and honour for that honourable society that were his tenants, to think of treating them in that manner. That he designed not to make any profit to himself by renewing their lease, but having had it in his thoughts ever since he came to

His other kind assistances to his *poor* clergy out of his own pocket, were very great and many. *To some he contributed towards the necessary repairs of their parsonage or vicarage houses. To others he voluntarily remitted their procurations**, *synodals, and pensions.* To others he advanced money upon their taking their

the knowledge of the state of the parish (where the leasehold lay), to make some better provision for the minister who served the cure there (who had no more than 5*l.* per annum, *settled maintenance*), he thought he might reasonably take this occasion (which was the first that was offered him) of doing something towards it. And therefore, with all respect, he tendered this proposal to the college, viz. that he would renew their lease gratis now; and not only so, but would promise to do it without fine as long as he continued Archbishop, whenever they desired it, provided they would *oblige their tenant to pay 5*l.* per annum from henceforward to the minister that served the cure*, which the tenant might very well afford to do; considering how good a bargain he had from the college. And this would be a thing very honourable for the college to put their tenant upon, and very little to their damage. Concluding that he hoped the college would not take this proposal ill, since upon the common terms of bargaining, that which he desired might be purchased for less than half the money that even an easy fine for renewing their lease would amount to.

* In this kind of negative munificence all his clergy shared; for the reason which he gave why he did not hold his ordinary visitations regularly, but instead of them, went round his diocese confirming was, that he thereby answered all the ends of a visitation, without putting his clergy upon the payment of procurations.

benefices, to be refunded again if they were afterwards able; if not, to remain with them as a gift. To others, who had large families, he contributed towards the *education of their children at schools and the university*. And many a poor clergyman, upon making a complaint of the narrowness of his circumstances, has gone from him with 5*l.* in his pocket. Nor was he unmindful of *their widows*, after their deaths, but contributed to the support of such as were left in a deplorable condition.

He obtained a *commission for pious uses* at his own expence, whereby he did great service in his diocese.

To learned and ingenious men, who had been educated at the Universities, and were afterwards wholly unprovided for, he would, for their encouragement, allow them something yearly till provision could be made for them in the Church.

When he accommodated differences between contending parties, and the only remaining difficulties to be settled were matters of debt, or law-charges, &c. he would sometimes chuse rather to discharge and *defray those himself, than not effectually complete the reconciliation he had undertaken to make*. Which occasioned one of his clergy, for whom he had settled a difference with his parishioners by this means,

to tell him, that if his Grace often took this method of laying contentions in his diocese, he ought to have the ancient revenues of his Archbishopric, or the riches of his predecessor, Cardinal Wolsey, that he might have a purse as large as his soul.

In his subscriptions towards the erecting and endowing charity schools, setting up organs, altarpieces, &c. and whatever tended either to use or ornament in parochial churches, and towards such other public works as needed his encouragement, and for which application was made to him, he maintained the character of a *Munificent Prelate*.

And he maintained it not only within his own diocese, but out of it too. By his contributions to the societies for *public charities* at London, by his bounty to the distressed *Episcopal clergy of Scotland*, and the relief he gave to several *poor foreigners*, who had fled into England on account of their religion.

By these acts of piety and charity that were known, let those be measured or guessed at that were not known.

Nor was his *hospitality* within doors less remarkable than his liberality abroad; of which no more need be said, than that he was *given to it*, as the Apostle directs those of his function to be, and *given to it* in proportion to the eminence of his station in the Church. And perhaps the

most laudable part of it was that which was the least visible to the world; viz. the share the poor had in it; for *he made it in a manner the support of the village and indigent neighbourhood where he lived.* So that what with his hospitality and charities, it is no wonder he *saved so little to himself out of so great revenues.* For, though he received, out of the profits of the Archbishoprick, in the first ten years after he came to the See, that is, from 1691 to 1701, as he computed himself, £39,276, and lived long enough afterwards to receive more than would make that sum double, yet all that he left behind him when he died, (excepting some leaseholds and grants of offices, which fell in to him to the benefit of his family) was little more than his own private fortunes, inconsiderable as they were, if reserved, would have amounted to.

But he was not a man of this world. His heart was no ways attached to secular interests. He was moved by other springs, and guided by more noble principles, as will be next seen in his *interior, or divine life.*

And this is that part of his life, whereof the world could have no knowledge, and wherein it had no concern. Yet, as *his diary* proves a guide able to conduct us into his retirements, and to shew him in some of his private communication with heaven, and of his most secret acts of re-

ligion; the following him thither with so uncommon an advantage, will not only appear the more excuseable, but will justify, by the materials thereby furnished, the distinct consideration of this subject, independently on what has gone before.

Acts of piety and virtue *done in secret*, though, for that reason, their beauty be lost to the eyes of man, and oftentimes their credit too, for want of testimonies, are nevertheless, in themselves, most valuable, and the most amiable parts of every good man's life. They are infallible marks of his being governed by a sense of duty and obligation, and clear him of all suspicions of being any ways influenced in them by worldly interests and friendships, the love of applause or fear of disgrace; or, indeed, by any other motive, than *the obtaining God's favour*.

They, indeed, who make light of private devotions, and of all human endeavours to keep up a constant and daily correspondence with heaven, will, of course, make light of this part of these memoirs, in which the subject of them is placed in an uncommon, and perhaps to them, not agreeable point of view: for, however well a narrative of this strain may suit the turn of some mens' minds, there is reason to fear it is too much out of the prevailing taste of the present times, to pass *uncensured*.

This reflection often occurred to the compiler, when he revised the contents of these last sheets; and it would absolutely have suppressed his thoughts of letting them go abroad, had not the opinion of some, who had the perusal of the draught when it was in great forwardness, (to whose judgment a deference was due, and who also were friends both to the Archbishop and himself), prevailed upon him not to drop the execution of this branch of his design. They encouraged him to think he had no need of an apology for so doing, and that if serious people, who look further than this world, and do not judge of every thing by the maxims of common life, and those scanty measures of what is excellent and praise-worthy to which *ordinary conversation usually confines itself*, shall here find a specimen of secret, unaffected piety, adapted to their taste, and be either instructed or encouraged by it, *it will more than balance the slight* that may possibly be cast upon it by persons of less sedate tempers, or of less relish for spiritual exercises.

Among the memoranda which he put together in 1691, (as it is mentioned in the Preface to this work) there is little to be met with upon this head, except one passage, which ought to be set down here, as being necessary to the

explanation of several of the excerpts from his diary that follow, viz.

That in the year 1688 he began to enter into a more extraordinary course of devotion and private exercise of piety, than he had practised before that time. By a reflection upon his own past life, minuted in 1682, it appears, that he had for *several years lived* (as he expressed it himself), *very carefully*; especially at Norwich, (while Prebendary), in his recesses from London, and disengagement from the business of his cure. Being made Dean of that Church in 1681, his retirements thither were longer and more agreeable to him, as giving him greater opportunities of improving in his spiritual life. And he made use of them to that end, but with not so much effect and satisfaction as he desired. For a constant and uniform perseverance in religious and devout exercises, must be the effect of an habit formed by degrees, and by *renewed essays upon repeated interruptions and disappointments*. The charge of a large parish upon his hands at London, *the controversies* of those times, in which he engaged himself, and his own troubles in 1686, would be enough to disconcert him, and occasion some remissions of that lively sense of God upon his mind, and some discontinuance of that *devout frame of soul*, which he

desired always to retain. However, in his retirement at Norwich, in the summer, 1688, he pursued his resolutions with greater strictness, and with better success; for he persevered from that time in a way so satisfactory to himself, that he never could reflect on that summer's work, without praise and thanksgiving to God for it. And certain it is, from his own accounts, that he did, notwithstanding the *multiplicity of affairs* that he went through, *by constancy of prayer and watchfulness* over himself, preserve thenceforward a vigorous sense of duty, which he never let go, and a devout turn of spirit, which made piety a *perfect habit in him*. He expresses these effects himself, something differently in different parts of his diary; but still to much the same sense, and always with so much humility, that the lowest terms which serve to denote the common duties of the meanest Christian, are used by him to express the highest advances towards perfection that he could attain to.

Thus his own words (in the collection of memorandums above-mentioned, made in 1691), are:—"On Sunday, June 24, 1688, I began to apply myself more diligently to the work of religion, and spent that summer well. And I thank God most heartily since that I have never relapsed. So that at the present writing hereof, *I have above three years lived with a*

constant sense of religion. Blessed be the name of God for ever and ever. And, O blessed God, continue thy mercy to me, and be pleased every day more and more to perfect that good work, which I hope thou hast begun in me."

If his whole life and story, from the beginning down to the date of this minuted passage, had been a blank, one would have imagined that, instead of having lived for several years *very carefully*, he had been a *careless liver*, and now first began to think seriously about religion, and to apply himself to it in earnest. His expressions are of the same strain in his minutes of his anniversary commemoration of Midsummer day as in 1702.

"June 24. This day I returned my solemn thanks to God, for his grace in keeping me in a sense of religion now for these fourteen years past, and devoted myself to his service anew," &c.

1704. "I went into my chapel, this being Midsummer day, on which, now sixteen years ago, I began to take up and live more devoutly and regularly. And most earnestly, and with tears, begged the continuance, &c. God Almighty, I hope, will hear my prayers."

1707. He returns his *anniversary thanks to God for his mercy in inspiring him with a serious sense of religion, now nineteen years ago*, &c.

By sense of religion in all these places, he plainly means, such a vigorous, energetic sense, as kept him up to his duty in all instances, and *established his heart unblameable in holiness before God*, 1 Thess. iii. 13. Till he could bring his sense of God and religion up to this standard, he could not be satisfied with it. Every remission of it was with him a kind of *relapse*, but when he had brought it to an habit, that he could say he retained it *constantly*, then it was *the good work begun in him*, upon which he studied to improve daily; then it was *he began to take up and live more devoutly and regularly*; and all this he humbly and justly ascribes to the good grace of God upon him, encouraging and assisting him in his own sincere attempts to improve himself in all goodness; for thus his commemorations at Midsummer are expressed in 1705 and 1706, viz. *To thank God for his blessing upon his religious endeavours, these last seventeen and eighteen years.*

After he had continued in this course twenty years, he used another phrase in minuting his annual thanksgivings on the 24th of June, which he styled, in the years 1708, 1709, 1710, *the day of his new birth, and his spiritual birth-day*. From whence it is obvious to remark, first, that he dates the commencement of his *spiritual life*, no higher than from the renewing his resolutions

above-mentioned, in 1688, because they were his entrance into a course of stricter living, from which he had never since departed, at least not so far as to be construed by him *a relapse*. Secondly, that he distinguishes this spiritual life, or last state of improvement from the whole former part of his life, *not as a conversion from a sinful*, or a reformation of *a careless course* of living (for in the one he never appears to have been, nor in the other *for several years*, as he himself could testify), but as a permanent steady course of performing his duties to God without those failures or intermissions which he had found his former life had been subject to. Thirdly, that he distinguishes it from any notion or idea of a new or spiritual birth, by new lights and extraordinary convictions, or any *instantaneous changes and sudden renovations of nature*. For he waits a confirmation, from twenty years experience, of a spiritual life, before he ventures to apply "spiritual birth" to his entrance into it, and he always speaks of it (as will be shewn afterwards) as a *progressive state*, still mending and improving by steps and degrees, *at least at no time retrograde*; and this without any suggestion or *pretence of impulses or any extraordinary means whatever*, but only in the ordinary way of *nature* (subject to human infirmities), *on his own part*, and in the ordinary

way of grace under the Gospel, on God's part. These observations may serve to prevent any false conclusions tending to enthusiasm being made from this expression, wherewith he chose to signalize this day of his annual thanksgivings, and likewise to shew the value that he himself set upon this first means of so successful and lasting an improvement of his life. And how religiously and solemnly he observed the returns of this festival will abundantly appear from a transcript or two out of his diary, exhibiting the course and order of his religious exercises on Midsummer day. We will take, for example, the year following.

1711. June 24th. *Fourth Sunday after Trinity.*
“ *This being my anniversary day for my returning of thanks to God for his wonderful mercies to me, now twenty-three years ago, I resolved to spend this day as devoutly as I could. Accordingly I said my prayers most heartily alone, and with my wife and with my family in the chapel. Afterwards, before I went to Church, I said the prayers which I use on my birth-day as devoutly as I could, and devoted myself to God's service for the next year; begging humbly, that if I live another year, I may at the end of it present myself improved in every grace and virtue. I then went to the minster, where I thank God I said my prayers and received the sacrament with as devout desires as ever I did. But I was not so bright*

as I am sometimes. I came home in the coach alone. So that I had a conveniency of conversing with God all the way, which I did as heartily as I could. In the evening I walked in my gardens, and repeated my thanksgivings, and renewed my vows. So also I did just before I went to bed; prostrating myself upon the ground, and earnestly begging God's grace and presence the following year."

The last opportunity that God was pleased to vouchsafe to him of celebrating this private festival was in 1713. When we find the whole morning of that day was religiously laid out in the following manner.

Wednesday, June 24. "I said my prayers most heartily in my dining-room; and afterwards in my chapel, and afterwards with my wife. I then locked myself into my study, where, with hearty devotion and tears, I returned my solemn thanks to God for the infinite mercies he conferred upon me this day twenty-five years; when the good work was begun in me which hath been carrying on ever since. I likewise then most solemnly devoted myself to his service all the rest of my life; and earnestly begged that if he grants me another year in this world, I may at the conclusion of it present myself before him improved in virtue and goodness. I thank God I was most heartily devout, and hope God will hear my prayers. At ten o'clock I went into my garden, where I likewise returned my thanks to God for his mercies

on this day, and said my daily prayers. At eleven o'clock I went in my chariot to York, and I thank God said my prayers and thanksgivings most devoutly both going and coming, viz. my long prayers and my thanksgiving prayers, and my prayer for good resolutions. I likewise afterwards said my prayers heartily in my chapel. Thus far well, blessed be God. The afternoon was interrupted by business."

These passages may serve as a specimen of the devout and divine life that he led for *twenty-five years*. For though, on these more remarkable occasions, his devotions were enlarged, yet a considerable part of every day which he had to himself, was taken up in communications with God. And considerable part of his diary consists of his account of himself in this his merely spiritual capacity; wherein he notes down what prayers he said each day, and with what temper and spirit he performs them, and in *what frame of mind he was*. It may not perhaps be so readily guessed upon the first view of the matter, what could be *his design in noting down all these particulars* with such exactness. But it appears clearly, from the comparing the several accounts of his diary together, that his intention was, that no omissions of his private duty to God should at any time escape him, or slip his memory. And there-

fore, when business interrupted the stated course of his devotions, as often happened, and especially at London, he knew by this means *how much he stood in arrear*, of what he designed and purposed to perform; and so took the next opportunities that offered. And when he had said his prayers not to his satisfaction, which would sometimes be the effect, as he complains, of business or studies running in his head, then he took care to say them over again, when he was in a better or more undisturbed disposition for them. But the great use he found in this particularity was the discovering his *progress in the divine life*, the gradual increase and enlargement of his love towards God, and the sensible detachment of his heart and affections from earthly things. So that he could form a judgment of himself, not only for one day past, with which he closed his diary every night, in these or such expressions:—“*All well, this day, Dei gratiá; or, I have lived well, thank God; or, I have lived very well, God Almighty be for ever praised, and loved, and served by me and mine,*” &c.; but he could say at the week’s end, as he has occasionally done, “*I have lived better this week than ever I did.*” Or at the month’s end, “*I reflect with much comfort on this month last past, which concludes to-day.*” Or at the end of two months, “*I thank God, I have not lived worse*

these two last months than before." Or at the year's end, upon examining and considering the whole account:—" *This last year I hope I have lived better than any former year of my life.*" Or indefinitely, " *I thank God, I was never in a better frame of mind, nor have been so long together in a good frame, as I have been, and am now.*"

And he had also several *stated times* for the enquiring after the state of his soul, and improving his interior life. Of the annual days, the most considerable was Midsummer day above-mentioned. Next to that, *his natural birth-day*, February 16, which he ever religiously observed " *with hearty thanksgiving to God for his continued mercies to him all his life long. With humble supplications for pardon of all his sins and neglects from his youth up till that time, and with new and solemn dedications of himself to God's service the remainder of his days, always accompanied with petitions for grace to enable him to do and be what he desired.*" He kept this anniversary in this manner twenty-two times after he was Archbishop. That day which would have been the twenty-third return of it, and the sixty-ninth from his birth, his body returned to the ground from whence he was taken, and laid in the grave, in hopes of a joyful resurrection.

Next to this *he sanctified the first and last days of the year*, and employed them in religious per-

formances; as appears from his notes of those days, for every year, excepting the last year of his life; he being at that time languishing in his last sickness, and incapable of continuing his diary. But the year before that, the memorandum, which may stand as a specimen of all the former, is as follows :

1712. Dec. 31. Wednesday. “ *After evening prayers I said my prayers as I used to do in my dining-room. I took some time to think of my infinite obligations to God this year passed. . . . I went into my study, where, upon my knees, I returned my most hearty solemn thanks to God for all his kindness, and at the same time most earnestly beseeched him to pardon all the offences and neglects that I have been guilty of this last year : and begged of him to continue all his mercies to me, and to assist me still with his heavenly grace, that I may this next year serve him better. . . . All well this day.*”

1712-13. Jan. 1. Thursday. “ *This being new year’s day, I said my prayers heartily in the morning, both in the dining-room and in my chapel, and with my wife, as I used to do; and afterwards came into my study, and with hearty devotion, said Dr. Patrick’s prayer for one’s birth-day, applying it as well as I could to the new year. I thanked God heartily for all mercies and blessings both of soul and body, which he had bestowed upon me the last year ; and I humbly begged his grace, that I may grow better and better,*

so that if it please God to let me live another year, I may, at the conclusion of it present myself before him, improved in virtue and goodness," &c.

He would sometimes conclude his notes on Dec. 31, with this, or some such remark: "*I hope I am not worse but better this year than I was the last.*" And those of January 1, with, "*I have begun very well, and make many good purposes;*" or something to the same effect: signifying the further improvements in a Christian life, which he every year aimed at.

Another of his anniversary days which he devoutly solemnized, was July 5, the *day of his Consecration*; when he used "*to retire into his chapel, and beg God's pardon for all the faults and neglects he had been guilty of in the administration of his office, and most earnestly implore his blessing and protection for the future, that he might discharge his office the remaining part of his time, to the glory of God's name.*" These were the five days in the year that he set apart for his more enlarged and *particular devotions*. But this was a small service in comparison of the constant weekly offices that he performed in private, which he so distributed among the several days, that proper parts were assigned or allotted to five days in seven. Sundays and Thursdays were his days of *thanksgiving*; Wednesdays and Fridays were his days of *humiliation*; and Saturday was his

Parascend; for so we may call it, because he constantly on Saturday, in the evening, prepared himself for the eucharist the day following, *which he received* (unless necessity prevented him, which very seldom happened) *every Sunday*. Sometimes he performed these preparatory devotions with great life and pleasure; and then he noted it as a blessing, as in the last year of his life, concluding his week's account, he has these words: "*I said my prayers before the sacrament very devoutly: all well, thank God. I bless his name that I have a hearty sense of religion and devotion, and am truly disposed to serve my God to the utmost of my power. And I humbly beg his grace, that I may (as I daily pray) every day bless him more and more, and serve him better.*"

And he usually kept the same rule, and made the like preparation, for the due observance of Christmas day, or any great festival, on which he had opportunity of receiving the sacrament on the week days. Thus, "*Dec. 24, 1707, I was most devout at home to prepare for Christmas day.*" It was said above, that he never omitted to receive the eucharist on the Lord's day, if he could help it; thus if he happened to lie upon the road on a Lord's day, he usually procured the favour of a sacrament at the Parish Church, from the Minister of the place where he then was. But if it so happened that he could not receive it in

kind, he endeavoured to obtain the effects and blessings of it by an *eucharistical obation* of his own prayers in private. Thus, for instance, at a time when he lost his opportunity of communicating at Church on the Lord's day, he notes that "*he endeavoured to supply that defect with his devotions and hearty acknowledgments of Christ's sacrifice, and begging the benefits of it might be conferred upon his commemorating it in this way, by hearty devotions, and giving up himself to God, as if he had received the sacrament solemnly at Church.*"

When he resided at London, he constantly attended the *early sacraments*, (for the most part at Whitehall), that he might be at liberty to preach afterwards in the Parish Church, or attend the Queen's Chapel, whither he generally resorted for the morning service, when he had not engaged to supply any pulpit in town. The afternoon service he had in his own family. In short, he made it his serious endeavour, as he often remarks, "*to spend the whole Lord's day in the best manner he could to the glory of God, and the good of his own soul.*"

Thursday was the other day of the week that he appropriated to thanksgivings; and these were usually his acknowledgments to God of his "*great temporal mercies and blessings vouchsafed to his country, his family, and to himself, in that he and all who belonged to him lived in health, peace,*

and safety; joined with earnest petitions, that God, for his mercies' sake, would have him and his always in protection." In the summer time, when he resided at Bishopsthorp, and when the weather was fair, he usually offered these thanksgivings *sub dio*, either in his garden or in the adjoining fields and meadows, whither he frequently walked to perform his devotions. The Parish Church of *Acaster* is within a little mile of the Archbishop's palace. It stands by itself in the fields. Thither he frequently retired alone, and made the little porch of that church *his oratory*, where he solemnly addressed and praised God. And here it was that for some years he resorted, as he had opportunity, to perform his Thursday thanksgivings; afterwards he removed from this place to another which was more pleasant, and more commodious too, as being nearer his house; and this was a shed or little *summer house*, placed under a shade on the side of a fish-pond, which stood north of his house and gardens. Hither he frequently retired for prayer, but most generally on Thursday. Afterwards, when the plantations that he had made in his garden, were grown up to some perfection, he again changed the scene of his thanksgivings, and offered them up in a particular walk, which from thence he called his *Temple of Praise*. It is a close grass-plot walk, lying north and south,

and hedged on each side with yew, so thick and high, as to be completely shaded at all times of the day, except noon. On the east it hath a little maze or wilderness, that grows considerably higher. The entrance into it at each end is through arches made in a lime hedge, and the view through these arches, immediately bounded by a hedge of horn-beam at one end, and a fruit wall at the other. So that from within the walk, scarce any thing is to be seen but verdure and the open sky above. In this close walk, and in the adjoining maze, (for probably he adopted both at the same time, for his Temple of Praise), he spent *many a happy hour*, especially in the last years of his life. Here was a privacy that answered his design, and a solemnity that suited his taste; and here he poured out his soul in prayers and thanksgivings, and had such delightful intercourses with God, as would affect him to a very great degree. Thus, for instance, he notes, in the year 1712. “*After evening prayers I walked in my garden, and there, in my Temple of Praise, poured out my soul to God in an unusual ardent manner; so that I think I was never so rapturously devout in my life.*” This passage is brought to shew what use he made of that place, and *not what effect the place had upon him*. For indeed, at this time of life, he had attained to such a *habit of raising his affections*, beyond what

he had been formerly able to do, that, upon several occasions, he wrought himself into arduours which he had not felt in so great a degree before. Thus, for instance, in the same summer. “*I never was in such transports of devotion hardly as I was when I came home from the Minster, being alone in the coach. I never prayed more heartily and devoutly in my life. And I hope God will hear my prayers which I put up for grace and mercy, with tears.*”

As he noted these and such like passages while the impressions of them remained strong upon his mind, it is no wonder he should prefer the freshest and latest of them, to those which were more remote, at least were more effaced in his memory. The truth is, that all his acts of devotion, and particularly such as were eucharistical, were very strong and lively, especially towards the latter end of his life. And as they affected himself, so in some measure they did others also. For, notwithstanding the privacy of his Temple of Praise, and the solitude of the other places he pitched upon for these exercises, he could not always pass unobserved. And it would have been a pity that he should; for surely the eye that once beheld him in one of these warmer acts of piety, would rarely meet with any sight again *so extremely solemn and affecting*. And indeed there were few in

his family who had not, at some time or other, undesignedly been witnesses of his secret converse with God. And probably with some of them, the remembrance of those ardours and (in appearance) extacies of devotion which were observable in him, will stick not without some proper influence to their dying day. It was such a lively representation of the power of godliness, as a verbal description cannot reach, nor invention furnish; which left upon the mind and heart of the *spectator* an impression not to be communicated by mere verbal account of it, of the charms of true religion.

But to proceed; Wednesdays and Fridays were *days of humiliation* with him. The latter *his fast*, and he had particualar devotions for them. For some years he went constantly to his cathedral on those days as well as on Sundays (viz. when he was in the country), and he was as constant at the Friday lecture in the afternoon, an account of which hath been given above. But he remitted of these strictnesses as he grew older, and could not bear an empty stomach as formerly. But his devotions on those days he never remitted. Those on Friday particularly he performed with great solemnity in his chapel, whither he retired by himself every Friday morning.

But besides these fixed times, he did, upon

several *particular occasions*, use extraordinary devotions. Before his *visitations* and *confirmations* he used to fast while he could bear it, “to recommend himself to God’s mercy, protection, and blessing during the ensuing visitation, &c. beseeching God earnestly to accompany him with his Holy Spirit, that he might in all companies and upon all occasions so behave himself, that he might do honour to his name, and bring no scandal to the character he himself bore; and that God would bless him with strength to go through his work both of preaching and confirming, and I trust (says he) that he will grant my earnest prayers for Jesus Christ’s sake.” He had always a very strong reliance upon God that he would support him in the public exercise of his function; which encouraged him to set out upon laborious and difficult works (for such were his confirmations), sometimes under very ill circumstances of health, viz. gout or stone; and yet he always returned home better, and did his business completely; upon one time, while he confirmed with the gout upon him, that he could not stand, but sat in his chair at the communion rails, and the catechumens were brought to him, one after another, he first recovered so much strength as by resting one knee upon a chair, which was gently moved along, he could proceed as usual along the rails, and soon after he quitted that sup-

port, and confirmed some thousands of persons, and after profuse sweating lost his distemper entirely.

His thanksgivings upon his return were as regular and constant as his humiliations had been before he begun. For instance, in 1707. —“ *In the evening I got safe home, blessed be God for all his mercies. I had a most prosperous journey, and God carried me through my work in every place more prosperously than I could have expected, considering in how low estate of health I was when I set out. I preached every where to my own satisfaction, except at —, where yet I performed well enough. I behaved myself, I trust, well enough in all conversations, so that I had nothing to charge myself with. I said my prayers constantly in private, both morning and evening, and mostly with hearty devotion. We had also prayer in my family every night, and likewise every morning when we travelled. And I had a lively sense of God upon my mind all this journey. O God, I humbly beseech thee, make me for ever truly thankful.*”

Always before he held an ordination, he used to resort alone into his chapel, and “ *there implore the guidance of God’s Spirit in that work.*” And indeed there was no business of any consequence that he ever undertook without first applying heartily to God for a blessing upon it.

His yearly journeys to London (or back

again) were all preceded by proper application to "*God for safety and protection;*" and each concluded with "*hearty thanksgivings for that good Providence that had watched over him and his in that journey; solemnly begging pardon for all his sins, and particularly for whatever he had said, or thought, or done that was amiss since he set out,*" &c.

And usually, when he came to London, where much business, and company, and public affairs would employ his time, and expose him to the world, "*He entreated Almighty God to be his guide and counsellor;*" and this he would sometimes chuse to do at the solemn celebration of the sacrament, *as in 1708, November 14, just after he got to town. "I was this morning at the early sacrament at Whitehall, where I received with as great devotion and with as hearty a sense of God and his goodness as ever I did in my life. I have most heartily implored the continual presence of his Holy Spirit to guide and conduct me in all my thoughts, words, and actions while I am at London; and that I may never, out of fear, or for favour, do any thing that I ought not, and I hope he will hear my prayers,"* &c.

From these several passages, collected out of his diary from among a great number which relate to his own private devotions, the reader may form an idea of his great piety and con

stant attendance, as well as dependance upon God. No day passed in which he was not, at least in some part of it, most heartily devout, so as to satisfy himself he had done his duty. And whensoever, either through indisposition of body, or want of spirits, or distraction of business, he failed in his endeavours in God's service, he could not rest till by frequent trials and repetitions he recovered his religious frame of spirit; and then he heartily asked pardon for his wanderings and distractions in his prayers, and frequently did it with tears.

One would imagine, from a course of such strict devotion, and a perpetual watchfulness over himself, that he was in danger of souring his natural disposition and appearing more stiff and reserved in conversation than usual; for *sometimes these prove the effects of such exercises in devotionists*. But he was certainly, with all his piety, one of the most cheerful men alive, the most free and easy in his temper, whether employed in business or engaged in company. He *never let his devotions put any business to a stand, or any man to an inconvenience*; but would break, when interrupted, from a train of weeping humiliations, into an air of sprightly complaisance, and entertain the addresses of such as applied to him with the utmost candour and good humour.

And yet he took little *delight or satisfaction* in any thing but in his endeavours to please God, and to do good in his generation ; and he often used to say, that “ *he could not bear to live a day, if it were not for the comforts of religion.*”

He was so desirous of arriving, if possible, to a strict purity in the worship of God, and an unblameable conversation among men, that he would often accuse and condemn himself for little omissions and inadvertencies, which perhaps but few other men would have regarded. To give a few instances of this. May 12, 1692, (on which day he first entered his cathedral at York under his archiepiscopal character ; and very devout he then was, yet he adds,) “ *The Psalms of the day did please me ; I pray God forgive me, if it was superstition to observe them.*” October, 1711. “ *I was this noon so peevish and disordered in my mind, that in truth I could not say my prayers in the chapel ; nor could I help it, being incapable of thinking. I impute it to my dispiritedness upon taking the vomit. But afterwards I heartily confessed my sin to God, and asked pardon for it, and in the evening I said my prayers heartily.*”

And then, as to his conversation ; if any thing escaped him that possibly might tend to hurt any man’s character, though said without the

least design or thought of injuring him, he was grieved at it afterwards.

Thus, Jan. 14, 1699-1700. “ *I repented that I had said one thing to Mr. ——— : talking of Mr. ———, I said he was an immoral man ; that I had heard so, but did not know whether he were so or no.*” Again, at another time,

“ *Then came into me Dr. ——— and Mr. ———, and staid with me till I was almost put out of patience ; and after the Doctor was gone, I did intimate something to Mr. ——— not to his advantage, though I said nothing ill of him. If this was a fault, (I think it was), God forgive me.*”

And again, Jan. 12, 1710-11. “ *I was to blame this day, and I asked God forgiveness for it, for my so publicly telling the story which Dr. ——— had told me of Mr. ———, as he was told by a citizen. This story I told in our lobby, where four or five of the Bishops were present.*”

Perhaps such another instance cannot be found in his conversation, for twenty years together. So careful was he to avoid tattle and scandal, and every thing that bore hard upon a man's credit, unless he had full proof and evidence for what he said ; and did as carefully avoid whatever had the appearance of arrogance or egotism. He had as little of it as any man upon earth ; but still he condemned himself whenever he was led in discourse to say more of himself than was

necessary: a remarkable instance of this we have on March 31, 1711.

“ *I had so tired myself with walking, that I drank wine to refresh myself before my usual time, and then I sat prating with Mr. — a good while, and I told him a great many stories of myself, for which I was afterwards grieved; and both that night and the next day, I did heartily ask God’s pardon for my pride and vanity.*”

Nay, he was so scrupulously careful of his expressions, that at one time, when a certain lady was importunate for his blessing, and he, to satisfy her, had used these words, “ *Madam, a thousand blessings on you;*” he was afterwards concerned at what he had spoke. “ *It was the expression, (he said), he blamed himself for, and not the thing.*”

Thus he endeavoured to be as perfect as he could; and he frequently, with his prayers for God’s grace and assistance, renewed his resolutions “ *to watch narrowly over himself; to avoid all little peevishness both at prayers and in conversation; to attend to his devotions, both public and private, with all diligence; and to be careful in his words, that he neither offended against truth or charity.*”

He had some *infirmities* which kept him always upon his guard; the most prevalent in his nature, was *choler*. But he so managed and subdued it, that oftentimes when he was very angry,

it could hardly be perceived that his passion was stirred. A vicious or idle clergyman did above all things provoke him; and, upon such an occasion, he would give himself seasonable vent, and so to any person over whom he had authority, and who deserved his rebukes. Any instance of *cruelty or hard-heartedness* would likewise provoke him; especially if he happened to observe it in any of his domestics; but otherwise he was rarely discovered to be heated. He was not without some other little infirmities, which he took great notice of himself, but which are not worthy the notice of the reader, unless it were to observe how wisely, and cautiously, and conscientiously, he governed himself under them. *It would look neither decent nor kind to open his bosom in every minute particular of weakness which he thought fit to remark in himself.* But when thus much is said, it is but justice to say further, that if any impartial person should know all his failures with his conduct of or under them, he would rather admire and love him the more, than esteem him the less, for them. His infirmities seem like those of St. Paul, such as he might glory in; for certainly, were it proper and excuseable, he might be represented in as amiable a view and character in the *history of his little failures* which he watched over, as in any other part of his conduct and behaviour.

Let thus much then suffice to have said of his "*vita interior*;" which was led purely with regard to God, and not to men. This was the life that filled him with so much joy and comfort, when all earthly satisfactions failed him, as they entirely did in his last decline. So long as he had any spirits to support him, he kept them up by the testimony of a good conscience, and the stedfast hopes of God's favour and endless rewards.

In the beginning of December, 1713, his appetite failed him, and he grew very weak, and exceedingly dispirited. On Thursday, Friday, and Saturday, the 3rd, 4th, and 5th of December, he was forced to leave off his extraordinary devotions, and had scarce vigour enough to perform the common service in his Chapel. On Sunday, the 6th, he gives this short account of himself: "*I got up about nine o'clock. At eleven I had prayers in the chapel, and a sacrament. I went to the sacramental office, but not to the former. I was most horribly dull: God forgive me. But I could not help it. I never was in so low a state in my life. All the rest of the day I was the same. God Almighty have mercy upon me, and either restore me health and vigour, or take me out of the world.*"

On the Wednesday following, he revised and made some alterations in his will; and, on the same day *concluded his diary*, (his hand being

grown so unsteady, that his characters are scarce legible) with these words: “*All well, I thank God; but I am horribly dull and dispirited as ever a poor man was.*”

The next day, by the advice of his physicians, he set out for the Bath, which he reached by short journeys. But the waters there not agreeing with him, his strength decreased, and his memory decayed every day till he died. A more particular account might have been given of his thoughts and behaviour in his last sickness, had he been capable of continuing his diary. But we may conclude, as the writer of Dr. Forbes' Life does, upon a like failure of an authentic evidence of *his interior life*, towards the very close of it: “*Nulli dubium esto quin transitus ejus ex hac vitâ beatus fuerit, licet nullum extet memoriale de statu mentis, et consolationibus Dei animum ejus lætificantibus in ultimâ vitæ scenâ.*” All that was particularly observed by those about him was, that *he prayed continually*; and the chief token by which they perceived how his strength declined was, his shortening of his prayers. He ordered the *daily service in his family to be performed in his hearing*, and was observed to make his responses along with them: and he frequently, in his bed, repeated the most material parts of the communion service; the design of which may be understood by

what was said above of his private eucharistical oblations of prayer, when he could not conveniently receive the sacrament in form. A little before he expired, he told his lady, "*that he should be happy.*" The last words he said were those of Mr. Herbert. "*Ah! my dear God, though I am clean forgot,*" &c. He had these words often in his mouth while he was in health; but would add, that Mr. Herbert was much dispirited when he wrote them.

He had issue fourteen children; seven sons and as many daughters; of which two only of each sex survived him.

His body was brought down to York, and interred there in St. Mary's Chapel, under the east wall of the Minster, where a sumptuous monument was erected over him by his executors.

His *general character* was given by an unknown hand, within a few days after his decease, in a weekly paper entitled *the Examiner*; which, because it is a recapitulation in effect of what has been delivered in the foregoing memoirs, and will be found to contain his real character, some allowances being made for the encomiastic way of writing which is common to the public papers on such occasions, is inserted entire in the Appendix.

But his character is more closely and justly drawn by the able and fine pen of Dr. Smalridge,

in the following inscription, which is put upon the monument in York Cathedral; and is the more to be depended upon, both on account of the known integrity of the composer, and of his intimacy with the Archbishop for several years.

M. S.

Reverendissimi in *Christo* Patris

JOHANNIS SHARP, ARCHIEPISCOPI EBORACENSIS,

Qui

Honestis parentibus in hoc comitatu prognatus
Cantabrigiæ optimarum Artium studiis innutritus

Tum soli unde ortus

Tum loci ubi institutus est, famam

Sui nominis celebritate adauxit.

Ab Academia in domum Illust^{mi} Dⁿⁱ *Heneagi Finch*,

Tunc temporis Attornati Generalis

Summi postea *Angliæ* Cancellarii

Virtutum omnium altricem fautricemque evocatus

Et Sacellani Ministerium diligenter obiit

Et sacerdotis dignitatem una sustinuit.

Talis tantique viri patrocínio adjutus

Et naturæ pariter ac doctrinæ dotibus plurimum
commendatus

Peracto rite munerum ecclesiasticorum cursu

Cum Parochi, Archidiaconi, Decani officia

Summa cum laude præstitisset

Ob eximia erga Ecclesiam Anglicanam merita

Quam iniquissimis temporibus magno suo periculo

Contra apertam Pontificiorum rabiem

Argumentis invictissimis

Asseruerat, propugnauerat, stabiliverat
 Apostolicæ simul veritatis præco, ac fortitudinis æmulus
 Faventibus *Gulielmo* ac *Mariâ* Regibus
 Plaudentibus bonis omnibus
 Ad Archiepiscopalis Dignitatis fastigium tandem
 evectus est.

Nec hujusce tantum provinciæ negotia satis ardua
 feliciter expediit
 Sed et *Annæ* Principum optimæ tum a consiliis tum ab
 eleemosynis fuit

Quas utcunque amplas, utcunque diffluentes
 Ne quem forte inopum à se tristem dimitteret
 De suis sæpenumero facultatibus supplevit.

Erat in sermone apertus, comis, affabilis.
 In concionibus profluens ardens, nervosus.

In explicandis theologiæ casuisticæ nodis
 Dilucidus, argutus, promptus.

In eximendis dubitantium scrupulis

Utcunque naturæ bonitate ad leniores partes aliquando
 propensior

Æqui tamen rectique custos semper fidissimus.

Primævâ morum simplicitate

Inculpabili vitæ tenore

Propensâ in calamitosos benignitate

Diffusâ in universos benevolentîâ

Studio in amicos perpetuo ac singulari

Inter deterioris sæculi tenebras emicuit

Purioris ævi lumina æquavit.

Tum acri rerum cælestium desiderio flagrabat

Ut his solis inhians, harum unice avarus

Terrenas omnes neglexerit, spreverit, conculcârit

Eo erat erga Deum pietatis ardore

Ut illum totus adamaverit, spiraverit

Illum ubique præsentem
 Illum semper intuentem
 Animo suo ac ipsis ferè oculis obversaverit.
 Publicas hasce virtutes domesticis uberrime cumulavit
 Maritus et pater amantissimus
 Et a conjuge, liberisque impensè dilectus.
 Qui ne deesset etiam mortuo pietatis suæ testimonium
 Hoc marmor ei mærentes posuerunt.

Promotus ad	Natus
Archidiaconatum Bercherrensem 20 Feb. 1672.	Bradfordiæ in hoc comitatu 16 Feb. 1644.
Canonicatum Norvicensem, 26 Mart. 1675.	In Academiam Co-optatus 26 Apr. 1660.
Rectoriam St. Bartholomei 22 Apr. 1675.	Gradus suscepit, Artium Baccalaurei 26 Dec. 1663.
St. Algidii in Campis 3 Jun. 1675.	Artium Magistri 9 Jul. 1667.
Decanatum Norvicensem 8 Jul. 1681.	Sanctæ Theologiæ Professoris 8 Jul. 1679.
Cantuariensem 25 Nov. 1689.	Bathoniæ mortuus ætatis suæ 69. 2 Feb. 1713.
Archiepiscopatum Eboracensem 5 Jul. 1691.	Sepultus eodum quo natus est die 16 Feb. 1713.

TWO APPENDICES
OF SELECT ORIGINAL AND COPIES OF
ORIGINAL PAPERS,
REFERRED TO IN THE
LIFE OF ARCHBISHOP SHARP.

THE FIRST,
CONTAINING PAPERS, LETTERS, &c. WRITTE BY
HIMSELF.

THE SECOND,
CONTAINING ORIGINAL LETTERS, &c. BY OTHER
HANDS, FOUND AMONGST HIS PAPERS.

APPENDIX FIRST.

No. 1.

The Preface to the first volume of Dr. Claget's Sermons, made by Dr. Sharp. Referred to Vol. I. p. 91.

THERE will need no more to recommend the following Discourses to the reader, than only to assure him he is not imposed upon by the title-page; but what is here presented to him as Dr. Claget's Sermons, are really so, being published from his own papers, and by his own brother.

And, indeed, the sermons themselves do sufficiently speak their author; for they everywhere express the spirit, the judgment, and the reasoning, of that good man; though some of them, perhaps, want that finishing which his masterly hand would have given them, had he been to have published them himself.

The first of these sermons he meant to have printed, if God had given him life, being prevailed upon by the importunity of several of his friends, who then judged it very seasonable.

The last in this collection was the last sermon he preached. It was preached at St. Martin's in the

Fields, on the day of his Lent course there ; and that very evening he fell into that sickness, which put a period to his life twelve days after.

No man, perhaps, in this age, of so private a condition, died more lamented. For as he had all the amiable, charming qualities, to procure the esteem and love of every one that knew him ; so God had bestowed upon him so many great and useful talents, for the doing service to religion, to the Church, to all about him ; and he so faithfully and industriously employed those talents to those purposes, that he was really a public blessing ; and he had that right done him, as to be esteemed so.

He was born at St. Edmund's Bury, Sept. 24th, 1646, being the son of Mr. Nicholas Claget, then Minister there.

His University education was at Emanuel College, in Cambridge.

His first public appearance in the world, was at his own native town of Bury, where he was chosen one of the preachers : which office he discharged for several years with so universal a reputation, that it might be truly said as to him, that a prophet had honour in his own country.

From thence, at the instance of some considerable men of the long robe, (whose business at the assizes there, gave them opportunities of being acquainted with his great worth and abilities), he was prevailed with to remove to Gray's Inn. And, indeed, it was no small testimony given to his merits, that he was thought worthy, by that honourable society, to succeed the eminent Dr. Cradock as their preacher.

In this place he continued all the remainder of his

life, and he behaved himself worthily in it; and the gentlemen of that house took all occasions of declaring that he did so, by the constant kindness they expressed to him while he lived, and the respects they paid him at his death. He had, indeed, at the time of his death, two other preferments besides that of Gray's Inn; the Lord Keeper North (his wife's kinsman) had given him a living in Buckinghamshire; but the other place was that which he himself most valued next to Gray's Inn, and that was the lecture of Bassishaw, to which he was chosen by the parish, about two years before his death. It was the lecture which Dr. Calamy had immediately held before him. Never were there two greater men successively lecturers of one parish; nor ever was any parish kinder to two lecturers.

Dr. Claget died of the small-pox, March 28th, and was buried in the Church of St. Michael, Bassishaw.

His wife, Mrs. Thomasin North, a most virtuous and accomplished woman, died eighteen days after him, of the same disease, and was buried in the same grave with him.

There is this little passage not unfit to be mentioned here: the last sermon Dr. Claget made, (though not the last he preached), was that which is the sixteenth in this collection, upon this text—“ *Shall we receive good at the hands of God, and shall we not receive evil?*”

This sermon he made upon occasion of the death of a child of his, that happened a little before. And he had writ it fairly out, I suppose for this end, *that his wife might read it*. And accordingly she did so; but upon a much sadder occasion; for it was after his death that she got this sermon into her hands; and then she made

it her continual entertainment, (and a seasonable one it was), as long as her strength would suffer her.

But to return to Dr. Claget. We owe it to the Society of Gray's Inn, that he was brought to this city: but after he came hither, his own merits in a little time rendered him sufficiently conspicuous.

For so innocent and unblameable was his life, such an unaffected honesty and simplicity appeared in all his conversation; so obliging he was in his temper, so sincere in all his friendships, so ready to do all sorts of good offices that came in his way; and withal, so prudent a man, so good a preacher, so *dexterous in untying knots, and making hard things plain*; so happy in treating of common subjects in an uncommon, and yet useful way: so able a champion for the true religion against all opposers whatsoever; and lastly, so ready, upon all occasions, to advise, to direct, to encourage any work that was undertaken for the promoting or defending the cause of God:—I say, all these qualities were so eminent in Dr. Claget, that it was impossible they should be hid. The town soon took notice of him, and none that intimately knew him, could forbear to love and admire him; and scarce any that had heard of him, to esteem and honour him.

If the reader would know more of Dr. Claget, let him peruse those writings of his which he published himself. By them he will in some measure be able to make a judgment of the genius and abilities of the man.

If a friend can speak without partiality, there doth, in those writings, appear *so strong a judgment*, such an admirable faculty of reasoning, so much *honesty and*

candour of temper, so great plainness and perspicuity, and withal so much spirit and quickness; and in a word, all the qualities that can recommend an author, or render his books excellent in their kind: that I should not scruple to give Dr. Claget a place among the most eminent and celebrated writers of this Church. And if he may be allowed that, it is as great an honour as can be done him. For, perhaps, from the inspired age to this, the world did never see more accurate and more judicious composures in matters of religion, than the Church of England has produced in our days.

No. II.

A Passage of Dr. Sharp's Sermon at the Funeral of Dr. Claget, referred to Vol. I. p. 91.

[When he came to speak to the occasion, he told his audience,] that it was not an easy matter for any man, at any time, to speak discreetly or justly concerning his friends, or to give characters of them, when he hath his wits never so much about him. But for a man on a sudden, when he hath lost one of the dearest friends he had in the world, and is so surprised and struck with the loss, that he hath no power of considering what is fit for him to say, or what is due to his friend to be said, in this case, whatever comes uppermost and first offers itself, and doth not injure truth, is to be allowed, at least pardoned, though it fall short of the truth.

And this (says he) is my case; I am now to speak of a man whom I loved as my own soul!—Something I

ought to say concerning him, for *he was not a common man*: but God direct me what or how I should speak, for I am not yet myself, since I heard of this great loss. A great and a good man you all knew him to be; he was every way qualified to do service to God and the Church, and he did it faithfully. No man more ready to spend himself and be spent in the cause of Jesus Christ, than he was. None ever needed his assistance, but he was as willing to give it as they to ask it. Ready he was upon all occasions to satisfy the scrupulous, to resolve the doubtful, to confirm the weak, to oppose the gainsayers. And he never did oppose them but the victory remained on his side.

You all know how laborious, how indefatigable, and how useful a preacher he was; he had admirable skill in untying the difficulties and giving the true sense of Scripture texts. And so diligent and industrious he was, that he never spared himself or any pains he could take, if he could thereby either serve his friends or the souls of men. And as was his life, such was his death. We may in a manner say, that he died in his vocation. For it was the preaching the last sermon he preached, after too great a walk, that brought him into the distemper of which he died.

As for those qualities that recommended him to the world and to God Almighty, as a private man, all that were acquainted with him can testify, that they have rarely met with a man of more temper, more goodness, more prudence, more simplicity, and plainness than he was. He was certainly one of the best natured men in the world; as good a husband, as good a parent, as good a neighbour, as good a friend as is to be found among mankind. He was a man without tricks, without

designs, a plain, open-hearted person, and yet without heat or passion. Infinitely ready to do kindnesses, but without the mixture of self ends.

O Lord, what have we lost in losing this good man. How good a friend! how able a guide! How great an example of virtue, and piety, and good nature, and prudence! And what is most of all, how eminent a minister of God's word; and how skilful and judicious a writer for the cause of God in the debates that are now on foot! Never could we spare or more unwillingly part with such a man as this; because we never needed such men more. There is, I dare say, no Protestant among us that ever knew, or read, or so much as heard of Dr. Claget, but will much lament his death. If any have reason to be easy or to be unconcerned for this loss, it must be those who, having a bad cause to maintain, happened to feel the weight and strength of his invincible reason. This is the last office of friendship that I can pay to my dear friend; and considering that, I think I do not do him right, unless I mention two or three things which I am sure he was deeply sensible of. The first is his obligation to the Honourable Society of Gray's Inn, &c.

Then follow particulars of no consequence.

No. III.

The entire Passage in Dr. Sharp's Sermon on January 30, 1688, before the Convention, which was supposed to give offence. Referred to Vol. I. p. 101.

Had this been done (speaking of the King's murder) in a Popish country, where the *deposing and murdering* of princes is allowed; nay, and sometimes encouraged and promoted by the pretended infallible vicar of Christ, it had been no such wonder. But to be done in a Protestant country, nay, and a country *that hath always gloried*, that by the principles of her establishment she hath given the best security to princes for their persons and their rights, that any Protestant country in Europe hath done.—Oh! what a wound is this to our religion, and what a blemish doth it cast upon it!—“*Tell it not in Gath, publish it not in the streets of Askelon, lest the daughters of the Philistines rejoice, lest the daughters of the uncircumcised triumph!*”

But if the Papists will reproach us for this fact, as indeed they of all others are the most ready to reproach us with it, we have these two things to say to them, not in defence of the murder, (which God forbid any body should pretend to justify) but by way of recrimination against them, and in defence of ourselves.

As to them, we say, that they of all other people living have the least reason to object this to us, because in truth they who were *the authors* of that infamous fact they reproach us with, did but act upon *such principles as were learned of them*. It was the Pope of

Rome who first taught the doctrine, and first gave the precedent of deposing and murdering sovereign princes in Christendom, and how tragical and mischievous an influence those principles have had in all countries where the emissaries of that see have got into credit and power, is too evident in the histories of the several nations to be denied. And all those emissaries and factors for the Church of Rome had a mighty hand in our late commotions; nay, and even in bringing the king to the block, there is too much reason to suspect, though they did not act above-board, yet it is very suspicious they were under the curtain, and gave life and motion to those engines that played the part upon the open stage; certain it is, that if all those stories that Dr. Du Moulin has averred for truth, in his answer to *Philanax Anglicus*, and those likewise that Bishop Broomhall writes out of France to Archbishop Usher here in England; I say, if they are to have credit given to them, the thing is beyond suspicion, and may be concluded upon as a certain matter of fact.

But secondly, as to ourselves, we have this to say in our defence, that this horrid murder of the King we are speaking of, though it was publicly acted, yet it was *not so much the act of the nation as of a few men that had got the power into their hands*, who, against the sense of the nation, did carry things to that extremity they were carried. And surely, this ought to be accounted a good answer to them, who are at every turn so ready, when we object to them the pernicious abuses and practices that are allowed in their Church, to the danger of men's salvation, to answer us, that those things we complain of are not so much to be imputed to their Church as to the particular men of

that Church, for whose extravagances the Church is not to be answerable; I say, this is our case, and *if their answer* be a good one, they must in reason allow of *ours*.

But further, if this be not sufficient, we have this more to say, which we are sure ought to stop their mouths, viz. that both the Church and nation of England have disclaimed and condemned this fact of the murder of the late King; and have given all possible evidences of their abhorrence of it, and sorrow for it; while yet the Church of Rome hath not *to this day* (though they have so often, upon several occasions, been provoked to it); I say, they have not to this day given the least colour of any retractation of their doctrines of this kind.

Nay, though the present Pope hath condemned above an hundred of the positions of the Jesuits, yet it is observable he doth not in the least touch upon their deposing and king-killing doctrines. These he lets alone, as doctrines that may serve several good ends and purposes when time and opportunity shall happen. But now we have been far more honest in this matter. For, upon the King's return, one of the first things that the Parliament did was in the name of the whole kingdom to testify their abhorrence of the late King's murder, and of all the principles that led to it. In that act they do declare, that because by this action the Protestant religion hath received the greatest wound and reproach; and the people of England the most insupportable shame and infamy that is possible for the enemies of God to bring upon us, whilst the rage of a few fanatic miscreants, who were as far from being true Protestants as they were from being true subjects,

stands imputed by our adversaries to the whole nation; therefore they, the Lords and Commons assembled in Parliament, do, &c. (reciting the words of the Act of Parliament.) This (says he) was the sense, and this was the act of the nation, when they first were restored to their liberty, that is, to their lawful established government. And I doubt not but it is the sense of all here present, since it is in honour of that King's memory, and in conformity to that act, that we are here at this time assembled. We have hereby done right to our religion and to our nation, and have made the best satisfaction that is possible for the indignity and scandal of that murder.

No. IV.

*Letter to Mr. Drake, relative to Mr. Torr's Manuscripts.
Referred to Vol. I. p. 138.*

Bishopsthorp, Oct. 28, 1699.

Sir,

Having heard no more from you about Mr. Torr's manuscripts, and being in a little time for a journey to London, I give you the trouble of this, to desire you to let me know how that affair stands, (viz.) whether Mrs. Torr continues the same kind intentions towards me that you acquainted me she had when you was last at Bishopsthorp; and if so, whether I may send for the books before I go to London.

I told you then, and I beg of you to *tell her*, that I take myself extremely obliged to her for the kind offer she made me by you, and as I do return my hearty

thanks, so I shall be glad of all opportunities, whereby I may express these thanks in real services. But how generous soever her offer was, I told you, I thought it did not become me to accept it, without some sort of acknowledgment; such a one, at least, as might be equivalent to what she might have made of the books in my judgment, if she had sold them; and therefore I desired, and do desire, that she would accept of a present of twenty guineas from me, which I will send when you order me to send for the books. I do by no means propose this sum as a just price for them, for I do not pretend to purchase them; but that Mrs. Torr may be no loser by her kindness to me, and if she can make greater advantage of them, I think I ought not to suffer her respects to me to be her hindrance. I must ever own my obligations to good Mr. Torr, whose death I was extremely sorry for, and whose memory shall be always dear to me, which I shall endeavour to shew by a careful preserving of his collections, if they come into my hands. I beg my humble service to Mrs. Torr, to whom I wish all comfort and happiness. Accept of the same service and good wishes to yourself and Mrs. Drake, and be pleased to give me an answer to this as soon as you can.

I am, Sir,

Your affectionate friend and brother,

JO. EBOR.

Wrote at the bottom of the copy which was kept of this letter, by the Archbishop, in his own hand—*Memorandum: I gave twenty-five guineas for Mr. Torr's MSS.*

N. B. It appears by the Archbishop's Diary, that the above-mentioned sum was given on Oct. 6, 1700.

No. V.

Queries to be proposed to the Officers of the Archbishop's Ecclesiastical Courts at York. Referred to Vol. I. p. 215.

I. Whether have the judges, the registrars, and their substitutes, and all other officers of the said courts, taken the oaths appointed by Act of Parliament, *Primo Gulielmi et Mariæ, entituled, An act for the abrogating of the oaths of supremacy and allegiance, and appointing other oaths?*

II. Whether have they made the subscription and taken the oath for the due execution of their places, appointed by the 127th canon, 1603, or that which is enjoined by the statutes of the court?

III. Upon what terms do the said substitutes or deputies of the registrars, execute their several places? Whether do they only take clerks' fees, or a certain part of the whole perquisites of the office, or they farm the same for a sum of money, and take the whole profit to themselves?

IV. Whether other fees are taken for probate of wills and granting administration, &c. than what are allowed by the statute? And in other cases, other than are allowed by the 135th canon, 1603, or by the tables of fees belonging to the courts of York? And if other fees be taken, what they are?

V. Whether are the said tables of fees set up fairly written, in the respective courts and registrar's office, according to 136th canon?

VI. What fees do the judges or registrars allow or

appoint to be taken by their clerks? And how warranted?

VII. What fees doth every rural dean pay for his commission? And every surrogate for his commission to grant matrimonial licences?

VIII. What fees do rural deans or other substitutes take for the dispatch of every business? Or are they unlimited?

IX. Whether are the acts of courts, decrees, and all other judicial proceedings, duly entered and registered?

X. Whether are all wills and testaments fairly engrossed, and their originals preserved in the registrar's office?

XI. Whether are all processes of instruments issuing out of the several courts, as citations, monitions, commissions, &c. fairly drawn and carefully perused by the deputies and actuaries of the office, before they be brought to the seal?

XII. Whether are the chief officers or those who act under them in any court, diligent in the dispatch of business, or do they use any unnecessary delays, or demand any other fees, (upon account of dispatch or otherwise) than are allowed, as above specified?

XIII. Whether there be true catalogues or schedules of all the records and books belonging to each office? and in whose custody are they?

XIV. What security is given by the respective registrars for the due preserving the records committed to their trust, without embezzling, erasing, or defacing the same, or suffering them to be carried out of the office without licence of the archbishop or judge of the court?

XV. Whether care be taken that the rural deans or surrogates do not deliver out marriage licences without caution given, that the marriage shall be celebrated in the church or chapel, where one of the parties lives, according to the 102nd canon?

XVI. Whether any prejudice or inconveniency doth arise by the registrars or deputies practising in other courts than those wherein they act as deputies?

Nov. 7th, 1699.

NO. VI.

*The Case of the Abbey Lands, resolved. Referred to
Vol. II. p. 54.*

THE CASE.

A young clergyman in Devonshire, who was about to marry the only daughter of a gentleman that had little more to give her by way of portion, than an estate of fifty pounds per annum, which formerly belonged to a Benedictine priory, had some doubt whether he ought to accept abbey land for her portion. He had a sufficient temporal estate of his own; yet both the father and daughter were displeas'd at his rejecting so much from him and his posterity. He applied for satisfaction in his doubt to a divine of his acquaintance, who advis'd him to accept of the estate. But another divine, of greater note, whom he likewise consult'd, advis'd him against it, *lest it should render him obnoxious to the curses that attend the possession of Church lands; for that no length of time could make prescription for them, or wear out their piacular nature, but they would always be the accurs'd*

thing. Here the matter rested for some time, the young clergyman being more confirmed in his scruples. At length the person to whom he had first applied himself, obtained his leave to ask the advice of the Archbishop of York, and stated the case as above to his Grace, who sent the following answer, which gave entire satisfaction; and the marriage was immediately concluded upon it.

Sir,

I received your's the last week; and as to the case therein put, I see no reason why the clergyman, your friend, should make any scruple of taking an estate of fifty pounds per annum, as a portion with his wife, merely because it is abbey land.

For since all the *right* that any man has to his estate, and all the *property* he has in it is derived purely and solely from the laws of the *land*; and since the *law* of this *land* hath settled all the lands that did formerly belong to *monasteries* upon the crown, and upon such as the crown shall grant them to; I should think there can be no doubt, but that those who are legally possessed of such estates from the crown have as much a property in them, and have as much a power of disposing them, and those to whom they are disposed have as much a right to enjoy them, as any other estate that never belonged to a monastery.

But your friend will say, were not these lands at first given for ever by the owners of them to *religious* uses? and consequently *devoted to God*? And will it not be *sacrilege* in any human power to seize them into their hands after they are thus *devoted*, and to dispose of them to secular uses? And the same sacrilege in

any private person, either to purchase or accept any grant of them?

I answer no, by no means; unless it appears that there is some law of God that requires the erecting and endowing those religious houses; and forbids the secular powers from meddling with any thing that is given to them. If there be no such law of God (as undoubtedly there is not), then it must be left to the *legislative authority* in every country (in whose office it is to take care, *ne quid detrimenti respublica capiat*), it must, I say, be left to them to order and manage these sort of endowments in such ways and to such purposes as they shall judge to be most conducive to the public good. Nay, and when they find it expedient for the *public weal* (as most certainly our legislature thought it highly so in the times of King Henry VIII.), they may both demolish these religious houses and make void all the donations that had been made to them, how piously soever the donors intended them; and also apply what was so given to what uses they judge most useful to the community.

I must own, I think there is some difference between *abbey lands* and the tithes of parishes, which were likewise given to them, and which we now call *impropriations*. That the former may be possessed by *lay men*, and become *lay estates*, now that the abbeys are dissolved, there can, I should think, be no doubt among Protestants. But there may be some doubt, whether *tithes* can lawfully be held as *lay estates*, because it is thought by some, that by the law of God they belong to the clergy, and therefore cannot by any human laws be taken from them.

But I must confess, I do not think the arguments

that are brought to prove this have any great strength in them. For though I own, that both from the reason of the thing, and from the New Testament, it may be proved that in all Christian countries there ought to be a decent provision made for *the clergy*, and that those who serve at the altar should live of the altar, as the apostle expresses it, yet I doubt whether there be any law of God (as there was one, I own, given to the Jews) that requires a *tenth* part of laymen's incomes precisely to be appropriated to the clergy; and if there be no divine law for this, then, as I said before, it will be in the power of the *legislature* to dispose of the tithes *that were settled upon monasteries*, as well as of the lands; always supposing, that care be taken for a sufficient maintenance of the clergy, either out of those tithes or some other way.

After all this, I own that it was a sad calamity to this Church, that at the dissolution of the monasteries, and the Reformation that followed it, the estates that belonged to them were not otherwise disposed of than we see; and especially that the impropriations were not given back to the Church; but since, by the laws of the land, they are now become *lay fees*, I cannot but think a layman may lawfully possess them, provided he takes care that the minister of the parish from whence the tithes arise be *competently* provided for.

But I have transgressed my bounds in speaking about impropriations, for your case is only about *abbey lands*. However, I thought it no harm to give you my sentiments about both. Hoping you will take what I have said in good part, and forgive the incorrectness of this letter; wishing you and your friend

all health and happiness, and committing you heartily to God's protection, I am, Sir,

Your affectionate friend,

Though unknown,

JO. EBOR.

October 3d, 1710, from Bishopthorp, near York.

No. VII.

About the Marriage of a Popish Priest.

Madam,

I had the favour of your letter, and as to the case enclosed, of which you desire my opinion, I have these following things to represent.

First, we none of us doubt but that the canon laws of the Church of Rome, which absolutely forbid marriage to all clergymen, are very unreasonable, unjustifiable, and absurd, and indeed have been complained against as such by several learned men of that communion.

Neither (as far as I know) has there been any doubt among us, but that priests of the Church of Rome, if they come over to our communion, are perfectly discharged of their obligations to these canons of the Church of Rome, and may take wives, if they think it expedient so to do; and accordingly there have been a great many instances of *Romish priests* that have married after they have become Protestants, nor were they ever censured for it; and I make no doubt but that your friend, if he come to our communion, as he is no longer under the obligations of the Popish laws of this

or any other kind, so consequently is he at liberty to marry when he pleases.

But then there is one thing in the case as he puts it, that creates a little difficulty. He words it, as if upon his taking *priest's orders he did solemnly vow never to marry*. Now I must desire that this may be explained, for I do not understand it. I know, that in the Church of Rome all that take *priest's orders* are supposed to *resolve* to live in *celibacy* all their days, but I do not know of any "solemn vow" that they make to that purpose (I am sure your friend did not, for he says it *was then his intention, that all such contracts were in themselves void*. And sure then his *vow* was not *solemn* (or rather no *vow* at all); I say, I do not know that priests, when they are ordained in the Church of Rome, do ever make such a vow against matrimony. I have read in their *pontifical* the forms of *ordinations*, both of *sub-deacons*, *deacons*, *priests*, and *bishops*, and I do not find any vow there proposed to them, or so much as mentioned.

But if the gentleman, your friend, hath really, and deliberately, and in good earnest, made a solemn promise or vow to God that he will never marry, I do not know but he is bound to keep that vow as far as he can. Because the matter or subject of his vow is not unlawful in itself, there being no obligation upon him from God's laws to put himself into a married state. But then, on the other side, if this vow be a snare to him, if he find he has not the gift of continency (as that gift is not to all), it is certain, that in that case he not only *may* be allowed, but *ought to break his vow*; and for this there is authority enough, both from St. Paul's discourse upon this argument, and from the fathers.

I have given you my thoughts, madam, upon this case

as far as I understand it. But I believe I shall be able to give the gentleman much better satisfaction, if he will be so kind, when I next come to London, as to give me a visit, and let us talk over these matters between ourselves. In the meantime, with thanks for the favour you have done me, and hearty wishes of all health and happiness to yourself and the gentleman,

I am, Madam,

Your humble servant,

JO. EBOR.

No. VIII.

A Letter from an unknown Person about Breach of Promise.

Bath, March 1, 1707.

My Lord,

I should not presume to give your Grace this trouble, or to divert your thoughts from those great and weighty affairs of the Church and State, on which they are at this time, so happily for each, employed, but that I am persuaded that your Grace has so much goodness and charity as to forgive a trouble of this nature; and so great condescension as to spare a few moments to favour me with an answer.

It is for the sake of a young gentleman who has been for some years under a great perplexity and anxiety of mind, that I address this to your Grace; he humbly begging your direction and advice in a case of conscience that appears to him to have difficulty in it, and in which he has by his own extreme folly entangled himself.

Some years since, when he was very young (I believe between sixteen and twenty-one), having an opinion that an action he had sometimes allowed himself in was in some measure sinful, or had a great tendency to be so, he made a resolution or promise to himself, that if ever he again was guilty of it, he would give a certain sum to charitable uses; and for every repetition of it, that he would increase that sum in a geometrical or duple proportion, foolishly imagining that might be a means of restraining him from an action which has at least the appearance of evil in it.

But it pleased God to let him see, in no long time after, what little ground he had for so vain a supposition; for, through forgetfulness or heedlessness of his promise, and the importunity of temptations, he made so many forfeitures, that, should he dispose of all he had in the world, to the ruin of himself and family, it would not near amount to the sum. When, therefore, he seriously considered the guilt he had brought upon himself, and the penalty he had, by his own inconsiderate resolution, subjected himself to, he was at a great uncertainty what his duty was, and what he ought to do. For he thought, that either the rash promise he made with a good design, and through ignorance of his own weakness, was of no force at all, nor did oblige to any penalty; or else, that it was his duty to endeavour to perform it to the utmost rigour, by giving all he had to charitable uses, though to the ruin of himself and family; or lastly, that he ought to take a middle way, and set apart annually a certain sum (over and above what the common offices of charity do oblige him to), and to dispose of it in pursuance and execution of the promise he had made, and which should

be ten times more than when he made that resolution, he imagined it would ever make him liable to.

His own reason and reading inclined him to the last conclusion, as that which was the safest and fittest to be followed; but being unwilling to trust to his own judgment in an affair of that infinite consequence, as he thinks the lawfulness or unlawfulness of his actions to be, he first acquainted the minister of the place where he lives, who is a learned and judicious divine, with the case; and afterwards his own worthy diocesan, the present Bishop of Bath and Wells, who both of them confirmed him in the course he before believed he ought to follow, not thinking that it was altogether a void promise, nor that it did oblige to unforeseen consequences, which might perhaps be inconsistent with other duties, or so grievous, as it might reasonably be presumed they could never have been intended, had they been foreseen. It was a great satisfaction to him to have the approbation of those persons in what he intended, whom the providence of God has more immediately set over him for the guides of his conscience in all doubtful matters. But having a just and most profound veneration for your Grace's great learning, judgment, and piety, he was desirous to lay the case before you, and humbly begs that you will, for his own full and entire satisfaction, favour him with your thoughts of it. He also desires your direction in the disposing of the charity which he designs to settle, and thinks to do it in the following method, if your Grace approve of it.

When he first thought himself obliged to set apart something on this account, his circumstances were but mean, and he could not, without great difficulty, live

in that rank and station in which the providence of God had placed him, and which his ancestors have for many ages held in the place where he lives; however, then, he resolved to give 10*l.* a year constantly to the poor, and settle it on them for ever. Since that it has pleased God to make a considerable addition to his estate by an unexpected Providence, and thinking himself obliged to increase the sum, he now intends by God's blessing, to make it 20*l.* per annum, and to settle it for ever on two or three places where his concerns lie; part of it *to keep poor children at school* to learn to read English, and the remainder *to buy Bibles and other books of divinity for them* and other poor people that are *unable to buy for themselves*. This is the most useful charity that does at present occur to his thoughts; but if your Grace think of any that is more necessary, he will most readily and gladly govern himself by your directions. He humbly intreats your Grace's pardon for the length of this, but thought it necessary to describe the case as fully as he could to you, he hopes you will please to appoint the bearer a time when he shall wait on you for your answer; and, from the bottom of his heart, earnestly and humbly begs your Grace's prayers and blessing on your unknown but

Most obedient servant.

The bearer knows nothing of the business; I beg your Grace will take no notice to him of any thing, but will only please to appoint him a time when he shall attend for your answer.

Answer to the foregoing Letter about Breach of Promise.

Sir,

According as you have stated the case in your letter, I do think the gentleman may rest satisfied in the resolution that was given him by the minister and the bishop. *Nor do I know of any better way of disposing money in charity than that which the gentleman has pitched on.*

When I say this, I depend upon the truth of your report, viz. *that the obligation he had brought upon himself was only a resolution or promise he had made to himself*, so that it was not a promise made to *God*, but to *himself*; and if this be the case, there can be no doubt but it ceased to oblige him when the consequences of performing it proved intolerable to himself and family.

But now, if this was not a bare resolution or promise made to *himself*, as you word it, [as indeed it is a very idle thing to make promises to one's self], but *a promise made to God*, this does in some measure alter the case; for here *God* is made a party to the engagement, the man is under *a vow*, is under an oath to perform what he promised.

But yet, admitting this to be the gentleman's case, I do not think he is under an obligation, from this vow, or this oath, if the performing of it be inconsistent with the discharge of those natural or legal duties that were incumbent upon him *before* the making of this vow, or are incumbent upon him *since* it was made. But then, if this be the case, I would have the gentleman always be sensible of his sin, in making and

breaking his vows to God, and continually to beg God's pardon for it; and likewise I would advise him not to look upon this present settlement upon the poor (though it be a very generous one, and I doubt not will be acceptable to God), I say I would not have him look upon it as an entire satisfaction for the breach of his vow; but I would have him always ready, as God shall enable him, and as his stock of estate shall increase, still to do more and more in the way of charity, as God shall direct him. I take this to be the proper way of obtaining God's blessing upon all his concerns, and who knows but God will so bless him, that before he dies he shall be satisfied he has performed his vow even according to the literal meaning of it. I believe the gentleman is a very good man. I pray God bless him, and make him every day better and better. The letter you have writ to me is drawn up with very great care; I must beg pardon for this answer of mine, which is writ in a hurry. I took no notice to the person that brought me your letter of the contents of it, nor have I to the Bishop of Bath and Wells, whom I have frequent occasions of seeing.

I am, Sir, your hearty friend,
Though unknown,

JO. EBOR.

March 8, 1707-8.

No. IX.

About Marriage with a Wife's Niece.

THE CASE.

London, June 8, 1697.

Most Reverend Lord,

I presume to give you this trouble, from a case of conscience, wherein a near friend of mine is concerned, and cannot be satisfied without the particular judgment of your Lordship, which I hope may plead my pardon in desiring it.

The case is as follows.

Thomas married Elizabeth; had no child by her. Elizabeth died, and now he courts W., the niece of Elizabeth, to make her his second wife; he is under violent illness, and doth solemnly declare, that it will be his death if she refuses to marry him. She hath likewise made him a sacred promise, that in case it be not against the express law of God, she will consent to take him for her husband. *That it is contrary to the canons*, she is informed, but he hath produced a trial at law that was had in the Court of Common Pleas nine or ten years ago, with one *Parsons*, for marrying his wife's sister's daughter, which is exactly her case; and it is therein declared, that the marriage could not be impeached, for it was not prohibited by the Levitical degrees. And there is a clergyman of the Church of England, counted a very good man, who is married to his wife's sister's daughter; and the Jews allow of it, who are very jealous and strict to the law; and it is

expressed in Genesis, chap. xi. verse 29, that *Nahor's* wife was the daughter of his brother *Haran*; and in Exodus, chap. vi. ver. 20, *Amram* took to him *Jochebed*, his father's sister, to wife. But quite contrary in Leviticus, chap. xx. ver. 20, the man is forbid to lie with his uncle's wife, and it is said they shall bear their sin and die childless. Those places seeming to contradict each other doth much perplex the party concerned; and in the xviiiith chapter of Leviticus, 13th verse, whether it be not an uncovering her aunt's nakedness, in marrying her aunt's husband. She was extremely sorrowful at the knowledge of your Lordship's being out of town, and said she could be satisfied by no other; which makes me most humbly beg your Lordship to pardon my presumption of desiring a few lines as soon as it suits with your Lordship's conveniency, declaring *your opinion whether marriage in this degree above-mentioned, in which there is nothing of consanguinity, be absolutely forbidden in holy writ*; and if it be not, whether then W., the party above-mentioned, will not be in as much danger of committing a sin by rejecting him after the promise made by her as above said, and the dangerous circumstances her refusal may bring him into. She leaves the decision to your Lordship, relying upon your divine direction under Almighty God, whether it be a sin or not, to have this man. Begging your Lordship's advice and blessing, I most humbly conclude,

Your Lordship's dutiful servant,

ELIZ. —.

Answer to the foregoing Letter.

Madam,

Since you desire my opinion in the case you have proposed, I am willing to give it you, though I doubt matters are gone so far with the parties concerned in that case, that it will signify very little.

The resolution of the case depends upon this single question, whether the marriage of a man with his wife's sister's daughter be *against the laws of God*. For if it be, whether it be so expressly, or by consequence, such a marriage ought not to be contracted, notwithstanding any inconvenience that one of the parties may suffer thereby, and notwithstanding any promise that the other party may have engaged herself in.

Now my opinion is that, so long as our constitution in Church and State stands as it doth, such a marriage is against the law of God, that is to say, a man and a woman sin against God, if they marry within those degrees. And my reason is this; because the statute law of the land has declared all marriages within the Levitical degrees to be against the laws of God; and the ecclesiastical law of the land (which is of force in those cases, except where it clashes with the statute law, which, as to the present instance, it has never been adjudged to do), has declared the marriage of a man with his wife's sister's daughter to be *within* the Levitical degrees, and to be against the law of God.

That you may not think that this way of reasoning is only made use of by clergymen, I will recite to you the words of the late Lord Chief Justice *Vaughan*, as they are in his report of *Hill and Goods'* case, p. 327.

“As it is true,” saith he, “ that if a marriage be declared by act of Parliament to be against God’s law, we must admit it to be so : by the same reason, if by a lawful canon a marriage be declared to be against God’s law, we must admit it to be so ; *for a lawful canon is the law of the kingdom*, as well as an act of Parliament ; and whatever is the law of the kingdom is as much the law as any thing else that is so.”

Now by a *lawful canon* all marriages within the degrees expressed in the table hung up in churches, *are declared to be prohibited by God’s law*, and to be incestuous and unlawful ; among which marriages, this of a man with his wife’s sister’s daughter is named as one.

Having thus laid down the grounds that I proceed upon in framing my opinion, I will now take notice of the reasons that are or may be offered to overthrow it.

I. And first, you say, how can this marriage be against God’s law, when holy men of old did marry in the same or nearer degrees of consanguinity or affinity, and are not blamed for it, as *Nahor, Abram, Amram, &c.*

Answer. For any thing I know, these marriages were not unlawful till God prohibited them. And we do not find that he did prohibit them till he gave his laws by *Moses*. But after that, they were altogether unlawful to *God’s people*, and consequently they are and must be so to us, since our laws have made the laws of *Moses* in *Leviticus* to be the rule and standard according to which the lawfulness or unlawfulness of any marriage among us is to be judged.

II. Secondly, it *seemeth* that the marriage of a man with his wife’s sister’s daughter is not within the prohibited degrees of *Leviticus*, because the Jews, who

are very zealous for Moses's law, do allow of such a marriage.

Answer. The Jews are not always the best interpreters of their own laws; or if they were, yet it is not their interpretations, but our own laws that must guide our consciences in those matters.

But besides, all the Jews do not allow of marriage within this degree, but only the Talmudists; there is another sect among them, and those generally accounted the honester expositors, called the *Karaites*, which are utterly against it, and which give much the same account of the prohibited degrees that our ecclesiastical laws do, as may be seen at large in *Selden's Uxor Hebraica*.

III. Thirdly, it may and is commonly objected, that by the statute of 32d of *Henry VIII.* *all persons are declared to be lawful to contract matrimony that are not prohibited by God's law to marry:* but now the persons we are speaking of (*viz.* a man and his wife's niece), are no where forbidden to marry by God's law. For, among all the several prohibited degrees there, they are not mentioned. And therefore *it should seem*, that the ecclesiastical law, in prohibiting those persons, doth intrench upon the subject's liberty, which the statute allows them, and consequently is of no force.

Answer. If the statute had said, that *all persons are lawful to contract matrimony that are not in direct and express words prohibited by God's law*, this would have been a strong argument against my position; but as the words of the statute are, it makes nothing against it. For persons may be within *the meaning* of God's law, and so may be prohibited by it, though they are not within the letter of it. Nay, we say positively,

that all persons that are within any of the same degrees as to blood or kindred, with those that are by name prohibited to intermarry, all those persons are equally prohibited. And the reason is, because all those prohibitions being made purely upon account of nearness of kindred, those persons that are in the same nearness of kindred must be supposed to be alike prohibited, and it must be presumed that the statute accounted them so.

And that the common lawyers, as well as the canonists, do go this way in interpreting the Levitical laws, and consequently in interpreting the statute which has made them the directory of our marriages (not to name other authorities,) is sufficiently evident from the words of my Lord Chief Justice *Cook*, in his exposition of this statute of the 32d of Hen. VIII. in the second of his Institutes.

“ Note here,” saith he, “ that albeit the marriage of the nephew with his aunt, and the marriage of the uncle with his niece, is not in express words there prohibited, yet is the same prohibited ; because they stand in the same relation of propinquity with those that are by name prohibited, and the same must be said in all like cases.”

Now then to come to the particular case before us. If by the laws of *Leviticus* such persons be expressly forbidden to marry, as *stand just in the same degree of propinquity to each other*, as the man does to the daughter of his wife’s sister ; then, by this rule, that law that prohibits marriage in the one case, must be understood to forbid it in the other. ‘But now, I appeal to you, whether a man and a father’s brother’s wife be not exactly in the same degree of relation as to near-

ness of kindred, as is a woman and her mother's sister's husband. Now it is certain, that the two former persons cannot lawfully marry by the express laws of *Leviticus*, and therefore neither can the two latter.

I perceive the gentlewoman who is concerned in this case was aware of the force of this, and therefore rightly puts the question, how it should be unlawful as she finds it is, for a man to uncover the nakedness of his uncle by marrying his wife, and yet it should not be unlawful for a woman to uncover, as she expresses it, the nakedness of her aunt by marrying her husband? I must confess, they seem both alike to me, and there is as great iniquity in the one as in the other.

The truth is, the business of the laws of *Leviticus* is to set out to us all the several *degrees* of consanguinity or *affinity* within which God would not have his people to contract marriage; and that is done effectually in the 18th chapter, for some instances are likewise given of persons within every degree. But it is plain it was not designed there to name *all* the *persons* that were forbidden in those several degrees (there being no need of it), it being sufficient that every one knew the degrees of proximity that were there forbidden, and might easily apply them to his own case, at least those that were to see the execution of the laws might, and no doubt did.

I would ask any one that says that the *statute* of 32d of Henry VIII. is to be extended no farther than just to the persons *by name* prohibited in the 18th of *Leviticus*, what he thinks of the marriage of a man with *his mother's brother's wife*? nay, or of a man with his grandmother, or with his own daughter; will he

say, that any of these marriages are allowed by the statute of 32d of Henry VIII.? I hope he will not. And yet none of these persons are prohibited *by name* to contract matrimony by the laws of Leviticus.

IV. But fourthly, you mention another thing, which seems to make strongly against my assertion; and I must confess, *if the matter of fact be true*, it is a good objection. You say, the gentleman that is concerned to have this marriage go on, has produced a trial at law that was had in the Court of Common Pleas nine or ten years ago, with one *Parsons*, for marrying his wife's sister's daughter, and it is therein declared, that the marriage would not be impeached, for that it was not prohibited by the *Levitical* degrees.

Answer. *Parsons'* case is very famous, but it was not so late as nine years ago, for it was above ninety years ago, (viz. in the 2d of King James I.), since it was before the Judges. My Lord Chief Justice *Cook* is the man that mentions it, viz. in the first of his Institutes, sect. 380. And he does *say*, indeed, as the gentleman tells you, that the Court resolved *Parsons'* marriage with his wife's sister's daughter to be a good marriage. And upon his saying so, the story has generally been taken for granted, and this precedent never fails to be urged by those that have a mind to dispute the unlawfulness of such marriages. But see how unfortunately for your friend the thing ends. There never was such a resolution of the Judges in *Parsons'* case, nor I believe in any other; but Sir Edward *Cook* was perfectly *mistaken in the matter of fact*; and thus it came to be known. My Lord Chief Justice *Vaughan* being to try *Harrison's* case in the 20th of King Charles II. thought himself concerned to be thoroughly informed

about this case of *Parsons*. And thereupon he ordered the record to be searched for; and he found it: but he likewise found by it that the Court of Common Pleas was so far from allowing that marriage of *Parsons*, and resolving that it was a good marriage, as my Lord Cook says they did, that, on the contrary, they *granted a consultation*, that is to say, they remitted the case back again to the Spiritual Courts, as being a marriage within the *Levitical* degrees, and so not falling under their cognizance.

For the truth of what I say, I refer you to my Lord Chief Justice *Vaughan's* report of *Hill and Goods'* case, p. 322; and he there adds this farther, that this case of *Parsons* was put into the first edition of *Cook upon Littleton*, but in the second edition, and all those that followed, it was left out.

I never heard or read but of one instance more, where, in the case of the marriage of a man with his wife's sister's daughter, was tried in the Courts at Westminster; and that was in the case of one man, which is in *Cook's Reports*, and happened in Queen *Elizabeth's* reign. But there also a consultation was granted, and the Ecclesiastical Courts, having the cognizance of the cause returned to them, proceeded to a sentence of divorce.

So that you see both these trials in the Courts of *Westminster Hall* are against you. I may add two others in the *High Commission Court*, which are likewise mentioned by my Lord Chief Justice *Vaughan*. One is the case of *Rennington*, who was sentenced to do penance for marrying his wife's niece, and likewise was separated from her company; though, as my Lord

Chief Justice *Hobart*, who reports the case, says, there was cause for a divorce.

The other is, *Sir Giles Allington's* case, who, in King Charles the First's time was deeply fined for marrying his niece (which by our law is the same with marrying his wife's niece), and a sentence of divorce was given.

To sum up, therefore, the whole matter, taking these two things to be true, that our *Ecclesiastical* law has declared the marriage of a man with his wife's sister to be within the degrees forbidden by the *law of God*; and that there is no instance to be given of any sentence or judgment in *Westminster Hall* to the contrary, but what was rather in affirmation of the *Ecclesiastical* law; from the time of making the *Statute* of the 32d of Henry VIII. (which was the first statute which gave the temporal courts cognizance of marriages) to this day: I say, taking these two things to be true (as the one, I am certain, is true, and the other I believe to be so), it follows immediately, in my opinion, that so long as our laws continue as they are, the marriage of a woman with her mother's sister's husband is an incestuous and unlawful marriage, and against the laws of God.

See *Wortley* and *Watkinson* in *Sir Thomas Jones's* Reports.

Murgetroid and *Watkinson* in Judge *Raymond's* Reports.

No. X.

*Archbishop Sharp's Letter to Mr. Whiston. Referred to
Vol. II. p. 6.*

Bishophthorp, August 6, 1708.

Dear Sir,

I had the favour of your letter above a fortnight ago. I earnestly beg your pardon for not sooner returning my thanks to you for it; which I certainly had done, had not something or other happened when I designed it. I say, returning my thanks to you for the civility you express to me in that letter, for, as for giving an answer to it, I profess I am not able. I must own, I do by no means approve of the design which you tell me in your letter you are upon (as thinking, if you do pursue it, you will do a great deal more hurt to the Christian religion among us than you will do good); and (being of this opinion) to be sure I can give you no advice as to the method in which you should make the world acquainted with it, which is that you desire in your letter. If I was able to give you any advice, it should be this, that you would lay aside this project, at least so long as till you have had an opportunity of talking freely about this matter with your friends at London; which you may have in the Parliament time, if you will then be so kind as to make a journey thither. A great many things may be offered in discourse, for the conviction of either of the differing parties, which cannot be so easily writ in letters. I myself now think that I have as great reason to be-

lieve that it will be a great sin in you to disturb the peace and unity of the Catholic Church, by endeavouring to impose new articles of faith upon us about the Blessed Trinity, different from, or contrary to, the definitions of the Council of Nice, as you have to believe that it is your duty to expose the Nicene Creed, as contrary to the common belief, for almost three centuries, of the primitive Church. But, perhaps, if you and I were to talk of these matters together, we should not part at so wide a difference one from the other. I do sincerely profess, that I not only love you, but have a great esteem of your extraordinary abilities in all the sorts of learning of which you have treated in your books. And indeed I know no author whose works I read with more pleasure than I do yours; and I do likewise really believe you to be a sincere, honest, undesigning man. But then give me leave to add (for I would desire that you should think me an honest man also), that if you have *any weakness, it is this, that you are too fond of new notions*, and oftentimes lay too great a stress upon them, at least it appears so to me. Forgive me this freedom; I dare say you will, because it is the pure effect of hearty friendship and good will to you. You seem in your letter to intimate that you have a collection of your authorities and reasons, &c. in order to your designs, already drawn up. If you have a copy of them by you, which you can spare, and would be so kind as to send it down to me, either by the carrier or some other safe hand, I should own it as a very great favour, and will return it you again as soon as I have perused it. By this means I shall be the better able to form a judgment of what you are now designing, and consequently more fit to

give my opinion when I shall have the happiness of seeing you. I heartily wish you all health and happiness, and pray God most earnestly to direct you in all your undertakings, that they may be for his glory and the good of his Church.

I am sincerely, with the most hearty esteem and affection,

Sir,

Your faithful friend,

JO. EBOR.

No. XI.

To a Gentleman of his own Diocese, who had discarded his Daughter upon some pretences that seemed to him in part groundless, in part too frivolous to justify so great resentment and severity. Referred to Vol. II. p. 55.

Sir,

I am heartily sorry for the occasion of giving you this trouble; I cannot but lament your misfortune, as well as your daughter's, in the unhappy differences and discontents that have happened between you. As they are matter of great grief to her, so I am sure they cannot but be very afflicting to you and her mother. Since I know how hard it is for parents to put off the tenderness and affection that nature hath impressed upon them towards their children. I think every friend in such a case ought to contribute their endeavours to make up breaches of this kind. It is for this reason that I now make this application to you, having no

other end in it but to do you and your daughter the best service I can.

Indeed I am the more concerned for her, because, among all that I have spoke with concerning her, she hath the character of a very good young woman, truly virtuous, truly pious, truly good natured. I must confess to you, in all the conversation I have had with her (which hath not been a little), I really take her to be so. She seems to me to be extremely well inclined; to have a hearty sense of religion, and the worship of God; to be nice, even to scrupulosity, in all matters which *she takes to be her duty*, though perhaps she hath not always been rightly informed. As for her being *Popishly inclined*, or her being *leavened with Popery*, I do in my conscience believe there is no ground for such a suspicion. I have talked with her over and over about that matter, and she hath given me all the satisfaction I can desire, that she hath no impressions that way. She comes to the sacrament frequently, and she professeth herself ready to take any test that shall be required of her, in order to the purging herself of being Popishly affected. As to her behaviour and conduct in your family, and especially towards you and her mother, it is not for me to say any thing about that, you and she best know it. If she hath been guilty of any undutifulness or disobedience to you or her mother, far am I from excusing it, or making any defence for her. Nay, I am sure she herself will not justify any thing of that kind. So far from that, that she hath to me declared her readiness not only to ask humbly your pardon or her mother's, for any fault she may have committed against either of you, but also to make any *submission that can be*

thought reasonable; but after all, I hope her greatest faults will not amount to crimes, but only to imprudences and indiscretions.

I have, Sir, taken the liberty to represent these things to you, hoping they may have that effect, as either to incline you to lay aside your displeasure against your daughter, and to receive her again into your family as a child, and to treat her as such. Or, if you cannot bring yourself to that, yet at least you would not abandon her to the wide world, and leave her to depend upon others for a subsistence, but make such a provision for her, that she may live like your daughter. I am sure if you will not do one of these things, you can never answer it to God or to the world. I beseech you to pardon the freedom I have now used in representing my sense. I believe that nothing could put me upon it, but the obligations of doing what good offices I can, and a hearty concern for the peace and happiness of your family.

I am, Sir,

Your very affectionate friend and servant,

JO. EBOR.

No. XII.

To a Gentleman that had put away his Lady, and obliged her to sue for a separate Maintenance. Referred to Vol. II. p. 55.

Honoured Sir,

You will be surprised at my giving you this trouble, but I hope you will pardon it, since nothing puts me upon it but a hearty respect for you and your

family, as also for your lady and her family, together with a consideration, that an *attempt of this nature is never unbecoming one of my function.*

I am extremely sorry to hear the differences betwixt you and your lady are arrived to that height, that you are not only parted, but that she thinks herself under a necessity of applying to the methods of law for the obtaining a maintenance from you. Let the issue of such suit be what it will, I dare be bold to say, you will neither of you have cause to rejoice, for I foresee it will deeply wound you both; and therefore, as a common friend to you both, I would earnestly beg that a stop may be put to the proceedings, and that this matter of your separate maintenance may be referred to two such indifferent persons as each of you shall agree upon, together with an umpire, if you please, who shall be empowered to hear and determine this affair.

If you please to favour me with an answer, I pray that it may be in such terms that may be shewn to your lady; for, as I mean to shew her this letter of mine to you, so I design likewise to shew her your letter to me. The truth is, I am a hearty friend to you both, and would behave myself *without partiality* to either.

I am, with sincere respects,

Your affectionate humble servant,

JO. EBOR.

No. XIII.

To a Gentleman in the Country, who was a Stranger to him, out of mere humanity and compassion for a Lady and her Daughter, whose deplorable Condition is described in it. Referred to Vol. II. p. 55.

Sir,

I hope the occasion upon which I write this, and my good intentions, will apologise with you for the trouble I now give you.

Your daughter is extremely ill, even I am afraid to distraction; and her mother, your lady, not much better, being reduced to great indisposition by this her grief and want of sleep.

The maid tells me the young lady has taken no rest these six nights, and I can easily guess that her mother, who lies with her, has not had much. The truth is, I never saw so melancholy a sight in my life as I did this morning when I waited upon them; I found the one in bed, and the other sitting by her, both wringing their hands, and in the saddest agonies of grief and despair that can be conceived.

Your daughter has been growing worse and worse ever since she came to town, which I think is about five weeks. She has wanted no assistance of divines, nor I believe of a physician; but hitherto all advice and endeavours have been ineffectual, and she is at this present the most miserable disconsolate creature that ever I saw in my life, though yet I have seen and conversed with many under the same distemper. I

take her to be a truly virtuous, innocent, and well-disposed young woman, and one of whom you will have much comfort, if it please God to restore her health again, for I account that all her troubles do arise from hypocondriac vapours or melancholy, which have now gained so much power over her mind, that she is not herself. So that there is a necessity of using some *other* methods with her, and that more speedily than have yet been taken. In truth, if the mother and daughter continue in this state they are, for any thing I know, it may be the death of them both.

For God's sake, Sir, therefore, be pleased to come up and take some care of them. *Your duty, your reputation, nay, let me say common humanity* (considering your relation to them) does oblige you to it. Forgive my earnestness, for indeed the cause requires it. I am a stranger to you, but I am not so to your son; and I hope he knows me so well as to be able to assure you, that I can have no designs in being thus importunate with you, but to serve you and your family; I would beg the favour of an answer to this by your son, that I may save you all the trouble I can.

I am his and your very affectionate

Humble servant,

JO. EBOR.

APPENDIX SECOND,

CONTAINING

ORIGINAL AND COPIES OF ORIGINAL PAPERS,
LETTERS, &c. BY OTHER HANDS.

MOST OF THEM FOUND AMONGST THE

ARCHBISHOP'S PAPERS.

APPENDIX SECOND.

No. I.

The Process against Henry Compton, the Bishop of London, in the Council Chamber at Whitehall, August 31, 1686.

LORD CHANCELLOR (*speaking to the Bishop*).—My Lord, we are ready to hear your Lordship's answer at the time appointed.

Bishop of London.—My Lords, notwithstanding the time has been very short, considering the weightiness of the matter, and the absence of many of the Council, I have taken what advice I can, and consulted those who are learned in the law.

I hope there will be no misinterpretation of my words. I do not intend to say any thing that is derogatory to the King's supremacy, that is undutiful to his Majesty, or disrespectful to your Lordships. My counsel tell me, that your proceedings in this court are directly contrary to the statute law, and are ready to plead it, if your Lordships will admit them.

Lord Chancellor.—We will neither hear your Lordship nor your counsel in that matter. We are suffi-

ciently satisfied in the legality of our commission, as we told you.

Bishop of London.—My Lords, I am a Bishop of the Church of England, and by all the laws of the Christian Church in all ages, and by the particular laws of this land, I am, in case of offence, to be tried by my metropolitan and suffragans. I hope your Lordships will not deny me the rights and privileges of a Christian Bishop.

Lord Chancellor.—You know our proceedings are according to what has been done formerly, and that we have an original jurisdiction. This is still questioning our power.

Bishop of London.—It is partly so.

Lord Chancellor.—Nay, it is absolutely so.

Bishop of London.—My Lords, I hope you will, in your proceedings, interpret every thing in your commission in favour of the person that is brought before you; I humbly conceive, that your commission does not extend to the crime laid to my charge. For you are to censure faults that be committed. This that I am accused of was before the date of your commission.

Lord Chancellor.—I confess there is such a clause, but there are general clauses also, that take in offences that are past, as well as those that are to come. Hath your Lordship any thing more to say?

Bishop of London.—My Lords, protesting my own rights to the laws of the realm as a subject, and to the rights and privileges of the Church as a Bishop, I shall, with your Lordships' leave, give my answer in writing.

Which was accepted. [The Bishop withdrew, and

left Dr. Sharp's petition, which the King refused to accept.]

Lord Chancellor.—My Lord, we have received your paper, and here is another.

Bishop of London.—My Lords, it is Dr. Sharp's petition to the King.

Lord Chancellor.—My Lord, be pleased to take it again, we are not concerned in it. Will your Lordship be pleased that your answer be read?

Bishop of London.—Yes, if your Lordships please. My Lords, I have this to say further, what I did in this matter was *jurisperitorum consilio*; I consulted my Chancellor (who is judge of my court), as well as others, and the law says, *what is done by advice of counsel shall not be interpreted to be done maliciously or obstinately*. The law in this case directs, that if a prince requires a judge to execute any order which is not agreeable to the law, the judge is *rescribere et reclamare principi*; and this the law calls *servire principi*, a piece of service to the prince. Now, my Lords, I conceive, that I acted in this according to my duty; for I wrote back to my Lord President in as becoming words as I could, and acquainted him, *that an order to suspend before citation and hearing of the person is against law*, and therefore expected his Majesty's further pleasure. In the next place, my Lords, I did in effect what the King commanded to be done; for I advised Dr. Sharp to forbear preaching till his Majesty received satisfaction concerning him, and accordingly he has forborne preaching in my diocese.

Lord Chancellor.—My Lord, will you have your paper read?

Bishop of London.—Yes, if your Lordships please.

[Which was as followeth, containing the King's letter and the Bishop's answer.]

“ To the Reverend Father in God, Henry Lord Bishop of London.

“ Reverend Father in God, we greet you well; we being informed that Dr. John Sharp, Rector of the parish of St. Giles in the Fields, contrary to our late order sent to the Archbishops, and by them to be communicated to the rest of the clergy, hath in several sermons vented several expressions tending to schism, sedition, and rebellion, filling the minds of the people with fears and jealousies, being also informed that the said Dr. Sharp is in your diocese.—These are therefore to require you forthwith to suspend him, the said Dr. Sharp, from preaching any more in your diocese, till he hath given us satisfaction; for which this shall be your sufficient warrant. By his Majesty's special command.

“SUNDERLAND.”

[The answer of the Bishop was only a recital of what he had said before, viz. that he could not suspend Dr. Sharp before citation and hearing.]

Lord Chancellor.—Hath your Lordship any more to say?

Bishop of London.—I desire your Lordships would hear my counsel, by which you may have more clear and full satisfaction concerning what I have said.

Thereupon the Bishop was required to withdraw, and, after half an hour, he and his counsel were called in. The counsel were, Dr. Newton, Dr. Brice, Dr. Hodges, and Dr. Oldys, who speaketh as followeth.

Dr. Oldys.—My Lords, the question before your Lordships is, whether the Bishop of London hath been disobedient to the King's command, concerning which it must be considered, first, what was commanded. Secondly, what he has done in obedience to it. Thirdly, what judgment ought to have been given by him. It is apparent by the letter, that *the King did not take cognizance* of the cause; for the words are, "Being informed that Dr. John Sharp." So that it could not be an absolute suspension, for that supposes a process of the crime charged upon him; then let us consider the words themselves, "That you suspend him the said Dr. Sharp from preaching," &c. Now, my Lords, we have no such thing in our law, so that the meaning is only to silence him; where there is an absolute suspension, there ought to be a citation, former proceedings, judgment, and a decree upon that judgment. *To act otherwise is against the law of God, against the law of nature, against the law of nations in all ages, and was never known in the world.*

Lord Chancellor.—Doctor, I am loath to interrupt you, but I must tell you this is an unnecessary harangue. We know it was not an absolute suspension, but the question is, whether the Bishop could silence him.

Dr. Oldys.—Then, my Lord, I have gained that point; if it were *only to silence him*, then the question is, whether the Bishop did not execute the King's command; I think he did, and in such a method as in our courts is observed. When any eminent person is accused, the judge sends to him by *way of letter*, and not by a citation; and if he appears and submits to

the judge's order, the law is thereby satisfied. *Judicium redditur in invitos et non in volentes.*

The Bishop sent for Dr. Sharp, shewed him the King's letter, advised him not to preach till his Majesty had received satisfaction; in which the Doctor promised to observe his Lordship's pleasure, and has not preached to this day, so that his Majesty's command was in effect fulfilled. My Lords, there is the like proceeding in the common law, for if an attorney takes a man's word for his appearance, and he does appear, it is the same thing as if he was arrested, and there lies no action against the attorney.

Lord Chancellor.—" *Cujus contrarium est lex,*" there lies an action of escape against the attorney.

Dr. Hodges.—My Lords, the matter of fact has been stated, and the question is, whether the Bishop has been disobedient to his Majesty's commands. It will appear he has not, because, upon the receipt of his Majesty's letter, he required the Doctor *not to preach*, and the Doctor has obeyed him. That which the King commanded, viz. to *suspend him*, the Bishop could not do. The act of suspension is a *judicial act*; the King writes to him as a bishop, to suspend *as a bishop and a judge*, which could not be done before a hearing of the cause. If a prince sends to a person who is not a judge, but only a ministerial officer, that officer is to execute his commands; but when a king commands a judge, he commands him *to act as a judge*. This is no light matter. The Doctor is accused for preaching sedition and rebellion, which requires a severe censure. And if the Bishop as a judge had suspended him, he had *begun at the wrong end*; for this had been judg-

ment before process. In this case there ought to be a citation. Our books gives us many instances of this kind, which would be too tedious to rehearse. I will only give one. The Emperor proceeding against the King of Sicily, upon information which he had received, and giving him no citation, the King appealed to the Pope, who declared the proceeding void, and that it was against the law of nature (*which is above all positive laws*) to pass sentence before citation. This is the method of proceeding in all courts of Christendom, and I humbly conceive it is or will be the method of proceeding in this court, for otherwise *the Bishop needed not to have been cited to appear before your Lordships*. The Bishop has done what was his duty; he was bound to return his reasons to the King, why he could not do what he was commanded, and expect his further pleasure, which was done. I affirm, that if a prince or the Pope command a thing which is not lawful, it is the duty of the judge, *rescribere principi*, which is all he can do (quoting his author).

Dr. Brice.—The question is, *ut supra*, &c. A citation is *jure gentium*, and can never be taken away by any positive law or command whatsoever. The Bishop has done his duty, for he has obeyed the King as far as he could, in that he did *rescribere*, expecting his Majesty's further pleasure. If the Bishop could have suspended him, it must have been in *foro*, but in regard it was only silencing him which was required, it might be *done in a private chamber*. *The advice of a bishop is in some sense an admonition*, which was given by his Lordship, and obeyed by Dr. Sharp.

Dr. Newton.—My Lords, the question is *ut supra*, &c. The Bishop has not in this been disobedient to the

King, for as in nature *nemo tenetur ad impossibile*. So no man can be *obliged* to do an unlawful act. *Id non fit quod non legitime fit*, the rule obligeth all men in the world, in all places and in all times. The charge against Dr. Sharp was of a very high nature, and he desired to be heard before he was condemned. My Lords, the bishops are *custodes canonum*, and therefore must not break them themselves. The Bishop was so far from being disobedient, that he was obedient to the King, for when he did *rescribere*, and had not the further pleasure of the King returned to him, he might justly conclude the King was satisfied with what he had written, according to his duty, and that the King had altered his commands. *A citation ought to precede judgment*. In all judicial acts there is something to be done *according to law*, and something *according to the discretion* of the judge, and for that reason, as well as others, the offender ought to appear before him. That which was in the Bishop's power he has done, and it was in effect what the King commanded to be done.

Bishop of London.—My Lords, if it is through mistake I have erred in the circumstances of what is past, I am ready to beg his Majesty's pardon, and shall make any reparation I am capable of. [The Bishop then withdrew for half an hour.]

Lord Chancellor.—We will be here again on Monday next, and desire your Lordship will appear about ten in the forenoon.

Bishop of London.—I desire that care may be taken concerning *the minutes* which are taken by the clerks of what has passed, *that I may not be misrepresented to the King by the mistakes of the penmen*.

Lord Chancellor.—My Lord, you need not fear it, I hope you have a better opinion of us ; there shall be no advantage taken by them.

Bishop of Rochester.—There shall be all imaginable care taken about it.

No. II.

*Reverendo et Clarissimo Viro Dno. Gulielmo Nicholsio
Eccles. Anglicanæ Presbytero D. E. Jablouski, S. P. D.*

Librum tuum aliquandiu desideratum heri e manibus Reverend Dⁿⁱ L'enfant accepi ; illum quidem et in se gratissimum, (defensionem nempe ecclesiæ quam in orbe evangelico omnium unam ego maxime veneror) et mihi eo gratiorem quod amicissimâ auctoris epistolâ comitatus ad me veniret. Utrumque munus seu suaves amicitiae tuæ primitias grato animo exosculor ; et quo illud minus sum promentus hoc tibi me magis devinctum profiteor, toto corde peroratus, ut defensa abs te ecclesia hic in militante, Deus vero O. M. olim in triumphante gloriosa virtuti quæ brabeat tribuat.

Quamvis vero per temporis brevitatem librum tuum non nisi cursim lustrare licuit, in antecessum tamen quid de Ecclesiâ Anglicanâ sentiam, te jubente haud gravabor.

Pueritiam meam in Prussiâ et Polonia contrivi Britannos inter homines ab Ecclesiâ Anglicanâ alienos ; qui cum in Patria certaminum episcopales inter et Presbyterianos aliquando pars fuissent, post, patria extorres, cætus nostros dictis in locis auxerant, severâ plerumque pietate conspicui. Inde cum virisistis com-

mercium tenellum animum tantis adversus ecclesiam vestram præjudiciis oppleverat ut cum juvenis Angliam ingrederer anno 1680 Ecclesiam Anglicanam toto pectore horrerem, ejusque templahaud secus ac Pontificiorum devitanda esse censerem. Mox addiscendæ linguæ dum incumbo in 39 Ecclesiæ Angl. Articulos incido, qui cum intemeratâ suâ orthodoxyâ mihi se probarent, pristinæ sententiæ non nihil dubius rem omnem penitùs trutinandam mihi sumo. Constitutionem ecclesiæ, rationem cultus divini, prætenso utriusque nævos, omneque schismatis fundamentum quanta possum diligentîâ ad examen revoco, dubia cum amicis (tam popularibus meis quam Anglis) communico, eoque tandem progredior, ut cum per tolerabilem linguæ Anglicanæ cognitionem cætui alicui sacro me aggregare possem episcopalis ecclesiæ communionem præ reliquis mihi appetendum esse statuerem. Amor ecclesiæ juxta ac veneratio incrementum sumpsit cum Trigam illam præsulum vere Apostolicorum Gulielmum Cantuariensem, Henricum Londinensem et Johannem Oxoniensem paulo propius cognoscere daretur: Quorum et dicta et facta primævum illum Christianismum spirare videbantur, ut non possem eos non habere infelices quia tantis viris tantillo prætextu scindi mallent.

Quo autem diutius Ecclesiæ Anglicanæ communionem usus sum, magis magisque in eâ sententiâ confirmatus fui, libros ejus symbolicos nihil habere heterodoxiæ, cultum nihil idololatriæ vel superstitionis, hierarchiam vero ordinis et decoris plurimum. Eamque hoc nomine inter omnes ecclesias reformatas ad exemplar Ecclesiæ primitivæ maxime accedere, meritoque audire sydus in Cælo Christiano lucidissimum, Decus reformationis primarium et evangelii adversus papatum propugnacu-

lum firmissimum, cujus communionem absque schismatis nota aspernari possit nemo.

Ita autem Ecclesiam Anglicanam colo et veneror, ut Presbyterianos vestros non tam odio quam commiseratione prosequor. Existimo enim majorem eorum partem avitis præjudiciis imbutos bona fide agere; *minorem relinquorum simplicitate abuti*; ideoque non tam severitate obtundendos, quam lenitate demulcendos esse puto; eaque viâ plurimum apud ipsos profici posse autumo. Quin nonnulla quæ essentiam religionis non tangunt, ipsorum autem conscientiam, (erroneam licet,) offendunt, siquidem istis pax redimi queat omittenda vel mutanda; hoc que in casu dilectionem sacrificio præferendam esse haud negaverim; eamque rem ecclesiæ Anglicanæ gloriæ et laudi futuram humiliter mihi persuadeo.

Vides, vir amicissime quam candidè pectoris mei sensa aperuerim. Jam ad legendum librum tuum me compono, meaue de eo cogitata, pace tua, pari candore deinceps promam, Interim pro acceptissimo munere iteratas tibi exsolvo grates, Teque cum sanctissimâ matre Ecclesiâ Anglicana divinæ gratiæ pie commendo.

Dabam Berolini d. 10 Jan. 1708.

. No. III.

A Letter from the Rev. Dr. Jablouski, first Chaplain to his Prussian Majesty, to his Excellency Baron Printz, President of the Council for Ecclesiastical Affairs at Berlin.

Your Excellency having lately commanded me and my colleagues in the king's name, to draw up each of us a plan of Church discipline, I here humbly present my thoughts on that matter, and conceive that the good order or discipline of the Church comprehends not only a liturgy, or prescribed form of public worship and administration of the sacraments, but also the *Politia Ecclesiastica*, or prescribed form of governing the Church of Christ.

I. Of a liturgy. And here I must acknowledge to your Excellency, that having observed that several evangelical congregations, and other Churches, have fallen from one extreme, that of the Romish pompous, cumbersome, and idolatrous worship, to that other of a *frigid, superficial, and not enough respectful*, way of worship. I should have had little inclination to declare my thoughts about it, and censure others, had not your Excellency, in discoursing of that matter, let fall some words concerning the great respect that every one ought to shew in the worship of God; which gave me sufficient assurance that you had formed a right notion of that affair, and that you did not judge of it according to the common prejudices of the vulgar, but by experience, and the nature of the thing itself. This has encouraged me, under your Excellency's protection, to

write down my thoughts of that matter, without pretending to prescribe to others, and humbly submitting all to your excellent judgment.

But, before I proceed to the work itself, I must first humbly lay before you my plan and ground-work, that if that has the luck to have your Excellency's approbation, I may be encouraged to go on. Two things are here to be considered.

I. Wherein the public worship or service consists.

II. After what manner and form it may be best ordered and performed.

I. By public worship I understand, an outward act of a reasonable creature, whereby he openly and solemnly acknowledges the sovereignty of his Creator, testifies his obedience to him, returns him thanks for his benefits, and prays to him for his farther grace and favour.

The opinion which has of late days prevailed is, that the worship consists in the sermon; so that the worship of God has even lost its name among us. For example, we do not say, Will there be divine service to-day? Will you go and worship God? but only, Will there be a sermon to-day? Will you go to sermon? Among Papists, divine service is performed with scarce any instruction of the people; and we, on the contrary, place our service in almost nothing else but instruction. But as, when the master of the king's household tells the servants of the court how they shall serve their prince, this is not the service itself, but only an instruction how they shall serve him; so it is with sermons. Sermons are indeed necessary, they are useful, and should accompany the public worship; but they are not the worship itself, nor yet the most essential and principal

part of it. Among the primitive Christians, *sermons were not accounted the divine service*, but rather an interruption of it: for when they had spent some time in prayer, and singing of hymns, and reading the Word of God, then stood up the minister, and made a short exhortation to the people, *from the passage of Scripture that had been then read unto them*; this was done, as it were, in a parenthesis, and then they proceeded in their devotions.

When we consider, therefore, what relation there is between the Creator and the creature, (which is the foundation of all worship) the parts of worship seems to be these following: 1st, Confession of sins; 2ndly, Adoration; 3dly, Praise and thanksgiving; 4thly, The consecrating ourselves to God; 5thly, Prayer or petition; 6thly, Reading of Holy Scripture; 7thly, Administration of the sacraments; 8thly, Almsgiving; 9thly, Fasting. Of which the first eight are ordinary and constant parts of worship. The 9th is only upon extraordinary occasions.

1st. Confession of sins must come first, as in Daniel's prayer, chap. ix.; *repentance being the first step to reconcile ourselves to God.*

2d. Adoration, or falling down before God and worshipping, is required as a mark of our humility, and that great respect we have for God, which, whoever duly considers what God is, cannot but be moved to do; and therefore has it been common to all religions that ever were in the world; the Holy Scripture especially does frequently exhort us to it. "*O come, let us worship and fall down, and kneel before the Lord our Maker.*" Psalm xcv. 6. Our Saviour comprehends the whole worship of God in this one thing: Thou shalt *worship* the Lord thy God, and him only shalt thou *serve*.

Matt. iv. 10. Where the original word which we translate worship, signifies the falling down or *prostration* of the body to the earth. Neh. viii. 6.

3d. Praise and thanksgiving. We are to praise God, both on account of what he is in himself, and what he is to us. His own excellence and his goodness towards us, do justly fill our mouths, as they once did David's, with his praise. 'Tis our duty to thank him for all his benefits, corporal and spiritual, common and particular, but chiefly for the spiritual, and *above all*, for the gracious redemption of the world by Christ Jesus, as the first Christians used to do.

4th. The consecration of ourselves consists in devoting ourselves entirely and without reserve, to God's glory and service, our bodies, our souls, our goods, our life, and all that we are or have. All this we owe to God, as our Saviour teaches us to say, "*Thy will be done.*" And forasmuch as offerings and sacrifices do peculiarly belong to the divine service or worship, this is the Christian offering, that they present themselves and bodies, a living, holy, and acceptable sacrifice to God, which is their "*reasonable service,*" or worship. Rom. xii. 1.

5th. Prayer is commanded us by God and our Saviour, and was constantly used by the primitive Christians. They prayed both for themselves and for others, for the obtaining good, and averting evil; yet chiefly we must ask spiritual things rather than corporal.

6th. God's Holy Word is the *rule of our faith and our life*; and because many cannot read it, many, though they can, neglect it; therefore was it, even in the times of the Old Testament, openly read in the divine service. Neh. viii. 3—18. Luke iv. 16. Acts xiii. 15. The primitive Christians read it in the same

manner, as appears from the acts of the ancient churches; whereas that reading which is among us, is not looked upon as a part of the service, and is only heard by those, who, through mistake, come into Church a little too early, and is done without the least devotion or respect, only to fill up the void space, *till the minister comes in, and interrupts it.* In the pulpit there's only a text read, which is usually but a short sentence, and then all the rest is *but the work and words of man*, which yet has the most attention, though even these sermons themselves are not heard so much for our own edification, as to pass a judgment on the gifts of the preacher.

7th. The holy sacraments are by all allowed to be parts of divine worship, and therefore I shall not here insist upon it.

8th. That almsgiving belongs to divine service, is evident, for that God commands his people, not only to appear before him in his temple, but likewise that they should not appear empty. Ex. xxiii. 15. xxxiv. 20. Our worship is our sacrifice; by adoration and vows *we offer ourselves*, by almsgiving *we offer our goods*; but of this, as well as,

9th. Of fasting, 'tis unnecessary to add any more.

I conclude this first point with this observation, that as well the aforementioned parts are necessary to divine service, so is it not enough that, in the celebration of it, these parts be in gross, and implicitly included under general expressions, *in one long, confused, and undivided prayer*; but each act must be so separated from the other, and so clearly expressed, that the most simple and ignorant Christian may be able to perceive and distinguish the one from the other. Since each of

them is a particular and distinct help or means both to devoutness and attention, and to holiness of life.

Confession of sins humbles man's natural pride ; adoration, or falling down on our knees before God, fills us with an holy respect and fear for so great a Majesty, and puts us in mind that, in all things, we are entirely dependent on him ; it likewise testifies this to other men, and gives a good example. The praise of God, or thanksgiving, which is common to us with all creatures, especially the noblest, the holy angels, kindles in us a love for so great a benefactor. The consecrating or devoting ourselves to God, awakens our devotion, and hinders that common hypocrisy, to be present in body, but absent in thought, and forces us to perform our duty with earnestness before that God, to whom we have consecrated both soul and body. Prayer puts us in mind of our own indigence, since we expect all good things only from another bounty, and so renews in us trust and dependence on God. The public reading of Holy Scripture represents God, as it were, present, speaking to the congregation. More of God's word, and less of man's, ought to be heard. Et sic de cæteris.

II. The *general rule* concerning the way or manner in which all these mentioned parts of devotion ought to be performed, is this, that they be so ordered as may be most for the *honour of God* and the *edification of men* ; to which end, in my judgment, the following particular rules may be useful.

I. Divine service must be duly *distinguished from the sermon*, and often celebrated when there is *no sermon*, as well as when there is.

II. Divine service should be so ordered as not so

much designed for the instruction of the people, as for exciting their devotion, and *raising the heart to God*; since instruction properly belongs to, and is performed by, sermons, catechisations, and the public or private reading of God's word, though there were no service added.

III. The Word of God ought to be constantly and diligently read in the divine service; and the method of the English Church is in this excellent; where, in the public prayers, the Old Testament is read through once a year, the New three times, and the Psalms once every month.

IV. The prayers must be plain and simple, without pomp of words, affected eloquence, or long reasonings; the heart must pray, not the head alone.

V. It is a great help to devotion and attention when the public prayers are not included in one long, confused prayer, but are divided into several little prayers, and the psalms, lectures, and prayers, so mixed and varied with each other, that the natural weakness of man may the better be enabled, by these changes, to go through the whole with devoutness and attention.

VI. The divine service ought not to last too long; half, or at most, *three quarters of an hour, is sufficient*, that the attention of the mind be not tired.

VII. In divine service the people should not be mere spectators or auditors, but *actors*, and that not only in thought and heart, but with the mouth, in praying to, and praising God, as it used to be in the Jewish and the primitive Apostolical Churches. Vide 1 Cor. xiv. xvi. 'Tis well known that the first Christians performed their devotions *per antiphonias*, or alternate responses; of which there remains nothing more amongst us than that at the preparation of the holy communion, when the

minister asks the people whether they truly repent of their sins? whether they have faith in God's mercy, through Christ? and whether they resolve to lead a new life? They should answer at each question, Yes. And at the conclusion of the absolution, Amen. And yet, among us, *a great many do not speak out.*

VIII. The rule by which a devout and edifying service may be composed, is threefold.

1st. The *Holy Scripture* of the Old and New Testament, in which there are many excellent models of hymns and prayers, and other parts of worship, which we ought to imitate.

2d. Sound and *sanctified reason*, which (since the Scripture has not prescribed every particular, but comprehended a great many things under that general rule, "Let all things be done decently and in order;" 1 Cor. xiv. 40;) may, by considering the nature of God and man, and, by the assistance of that light the Holy Scripture gives us, easily judge what will be most *for God's honour and man's edification.*

3d. The *example of the primitive Church*, which being ordered by the Apostles and Apostolical men, ought to be of great weight with us. According to this threefold rule, the Church of Neufchatel has now for these two years past, ordered and performed their divine service, after a very loving and edifying manner, which likewise gave those of Geneva a desire of doing the same; which, whether it is as yet effected, I am not informed.

These, gracious Sir, are my humble thoughts concerning a liturgy. The all-seeing God is witness, that they proceed neither from a desire of change, nor any other carnal motive, but from conviction of their truth,

and a sincere desire to glorify God, and edify his Church. I wait *your Excellency's orders* at your leisure, whether, according to the plan here laid down, I shall take upon myself this work; and till then defer my thoughts on the other part concerning Church government. God fill your Excellency with his grace, and make you a blessing to his Church. Amen.

(Signed) D. E. JABLOUSKI.

Berlin, June 25, 1710.

No. IV.

Dr. Hobart's Letter to Dr. Smalridge, or to Dr. Jenkin, whichsoever of them as should be in Town to be delivered by Dr. Kenyon.

Sir,

I beg leave to transmit the inclosed papers to my good Lord Archbishop of York through your hands, because I am sure you will do your utmost to assist his Grace in promoting the design of them, which is to recover an opportunity (which once presented itself to England, but was strangely lost) of establishing in these countries the worship of the Church of England, or one as near it as was possible. I hope the new ministry in England are of such a disposition that they will espouse the cause out of principle, at least that they will not think they can *do themselves any disservice or disreputation by it, either at home or abroad.* But if the design is heartily undertaken in England, I beg you to endeavour, that in the instructions to my Lord Raby, it may be represented how acceptable a

service it will be to the Queen, if he can effect it, and that it may be hinted to him how great they know his interest to be ; and that he should inform himself, from Dr. Jablouski, what the present state of the affair is, before he addresses himself to the Court about it. I take a great deal of liberty upon myself to talk thus, but I know I talk to one that will put the best construction upon it. I hope the enclosed letter of Dr. Jablouski to my Lord of York, will prove the beginning of a correspondence between them. The oftener his Grace can write to him, I am sure it will be acknowledged on his side with all due regard. I doubt not, too, but you will favour him with your correspondence, as also *Mr. Ayerst*, chaplain to my Lord Ambassador, a very good man and very hearty in this affair. I wish most heartily good success to your endeavours. I shall leave Berlin to-morrow. If you can inform me, by a letter addressed to Messrs. Vanderhuyden and Drummond, merchants of Amsterdam, whether the Court of England thinks fit to protect this cause, you will very much oblige,

Sir,

Your most obedient and most

Humble Servant,

T. HOBART.

No. V.

May it please your Grace,

The packet which this accompanies was sent to me from Dr. Hobart. All the papers in it were, as you find them, open, except the letter from Dr. Jablou-

ski to your Grace, which I presumed to look into, not out of an unpardonable curiosity to pry into a secret, but because I was let into the matter of it by Dr. Hobart's letter to me, and because I was willing to take a copy of it (as I have done of the other papers), that if this packet should miscarry by the post, your Grace might have all that information which it gives you from the transcript remaining in my hand. I am sure this affair, which may tend so much to the glory of God and the good of his Church, will find from your Grace all the assistance and dispatch which you can give it. Though I am afraid little can be done before your Grace comes to town, yet I durst not detain these papers, least so good a work, *which has already been too much neglected*, should suffer by any delay in me. Dr. Hobart tells me, that he transmitted these papers to your Grace through my hands, because he was sure I should do my utmost to assist your Grace in promoting the design of them.

The doctor judges right, that I should be willing to be subservient to your Grace in carrying on so excellent a work; the utmost I can do is but very little, but any commands which your Grace shall honour me with, in reference to this affair, shall be faithfully executed. Dr. Grabe, who is perfectly well acquainted with the state of this matter, with the character of Dr. Jablouski, with the dispositions of the King of Prussia, and his courtiers and divines, and with the obstructions so excellent a design has met with in England *and at Lambeth, more than in Brandenburg and Berlin*, will be very useful to your Grace in promoting it. If your Grace shall think it proper to write to Dr. Jablouski or Dr. Hobart, or both, before you come up, I have direc-

tions from Dr. Hobart, who went from Berlin September 23, N. S. how to address a letter to him. Or if you would have these papers put into the hands of any bishop or other person here, I can from my copy make a transcript of them. But I hope your Grace is making haste to town, and I am sure you will make the more haste, if you think that by being here you can the better expedite a work, in which *the honour of your own Church, and the edification of foreign Churches,* seem to be so much interested. I humbly beg your Grace's blessing, and am,

My Lord,
Your Grace's most dutiful
And most obliged servant,
GEORGE SMALRIDGE.

Westminster, October 7, 1710.

No. VI.

*Illustrissime et Reverendissime Archi-Præsul Domine et
Pater in Christo Gratosissime.*

Humillimo cultu illam tuam, Pater reverendissime, pietatem exosculor quæ ad humilitatem meam sese dimittere suisque d: 14 Oct. Eboraco scriptis me honorare dignata est. Sed cum litteræ illæ mihi traderentur subita quædam Ministerii Aulic. Conversio aulam nostram ita concusserat ut quid ad Reverendissimam Paternitatem vestram rescriberem et tunc hærerem dubius et etiamnum hæream. Accessit mors Spanheimii Legati apud vos Prussici et surgens inde dubium legatus apud nos Britannicus diutiusne hic locorum moraturus

an quod nonnulli augurabantur hinc revocandus esset. Denique hic ipse excellentissimus Dominus Legatus novissime a Reverendissimo Domino Episcopo Bristolensi per literas de rerum nostrarum ecclesiasticarum statu peropportune interrogatus fuit, eâque re effectum est ut prædictus Dominus Legatus non solum mecum de ecclesiasticis nostris prolixè sermonem contulerit verum quoque directorem rerum ecclesiasticarum Baronem Printzium de iisdem compellare constituerit. Et hæc quidem vera et certissima desideratum scopum obtinendi est via, sed Excellentissimo Domino Rabi, nondum se occasio dedit cum Barone Printzio de rebus dictis commodè colloquendi.

Hanc dum Ille expectat Ego interim tantarum morarum jam tandem impatiens ne officii negligens videar hasce humillimas meas præmittendas esse duxi ut pro tuo, Archi-præsul apostolice, in res nostras favore gratias tibi quantas mens concipere potest persolverem maximas. Cumque te collapsas Evangelicorum res juvandi studio flagrare cernam, pacè tua, Pater venerabilissime, id ausim suggerere quod et rebus nostris perquam salutare est futurum et ne quid pretiosissimi nobis temporis pereat præcavebit. Nempe aliquanto abhinc tempore fama tulit Augustam Britanniarum Reginam illustri vestro Halesio Procuracionem rei evangelicæ cis marinæ gratiose commisisse; qua re reverendissimus noster episcopus et qui hæc acceperant Ministri statûs mirum in modum affecti fuerunt, sed et Legatus Belgicus Baro de Lintelo in admirationem magnanimitatis reginalis ita raptus ut ultrò mihi affirmaret effecturum se apud præpotentes Fœderati Belgii ordines ut si vel similem res evangelicæ procuratorem constituerent, vel Halesio negotium istud suo pari-

ter nomine tractandum committerent, eaque utriusque mandati in unâ Halesii personâ combinatio fructu non videtur caritura apud eos qui forte a monarchicis et hierarchicis principiis sunt alieniores. Interia igitur dum reliqua quæ in bonum Ecclesiarum commune Reverendissima vestra Paternitas meditata maturescant, in antecessum nihil videtur agi posse unde uberius ad universam rem evangelicam cis marinam fructus rediturus sit quam si dimissio Halesii maturetur ipseque autoritate regiâ munitus tam sacrum opus quam fieri potest citissime aggredi jubere-
tur; generosum istuc augustæ Reginæ exemplum pietati regis nostri per se currenti calcar addet fortius ut eat. Persona autem Halesii hominibus cis marinis gratissima futura est, ut qui apud eos cum esset, ipsi Regi, Domino Episcopo plurimisque passim Principibus et statûs Ministris non tantum de facie veram etiam pietate raroque pro Dei gloria zelo innotuit. Quanti vero Rex gentem et ecclesiam Anglicanam faciat præter innumera alia hoc recenti specimine satis clare ostendit quod equidem illustrissimæ Paternitati vestræ non ingratum fore existimo. Nempe supra dictus director rerum ecclesiasticarum Baro Printzius plus simplici vice affirmavit constituisse regem ut tres alumni in spem Ecclesiæ Prussicæ sumptibus regiis in perpetuum Oxonii vel Cantabrigiæ alantur. Vinculo tali animi utrobique procul dubio arctiùs constringentur et hierarchiæ vestræ veneratio latiùs se apud cis marinos propagabit, quorum aliqui quod constitutionem vestram minus suspiciant id inde fit quod eandem minus habeant perspectam.

Insignem vero voluptatem inde capio, quod mea qualiacumque de re Liturgica meditata illustrissimæ

Paternitati vestræ non displiceant. Sed qui possint? Cum maximam partem in beato vestro Oxonio, atque ex venerabilissimi vestri Beveregii p. m. concione de Liturgia Anglicanâ anno 1681 Londini habitâ (quam ipsam aliquot abhinc annis in linguam Germanicam transtuli, et typis exscribi curavi) hausta sint. Quid autem in meditatis illis Liturgiæ Anglicanæ mentionem parcius feci; gravibus de causis factum est, cum alias in Liturgiæ illius laudibus cum gaudio prolixus esse soleo.

Jam Vale Archi-præsul Eminentissime, mihique gratiosè indulge ut quam primùm excellentissimus vester Legatus cum Printzio nostro de rebus supradictis egerit mihi hac de re ad reverendissimam Paternitatem vestram referre liceat. Pro singulari autem gratiâ humillime reputavero, ubi, si forte reverendissima Paternitas vestra me porro alloqui dignata fuerit, id idiomate Anglicano fecerit: Ejus enim linguæ amore ut gentis admiratione ecclesiæquæ veneratione intime affectus sum.

Illustrissimæ et reverendissimæ paternitatis vestræ filius in Christo.

Obedientissimus et servus

Humillimus

DAN. ERN. JABLousKI, D.

Berolini, d. 7 Feb. st. n. 1711.

No. VII.

Illustrissime, &c.

Libertate quam novissimis meis humillime expetieram in præsens utor, Pater *Reverendissime* atque in conspectum tuum denuo, non autem sine singulari voluptate, prodeo, eo quod divinæ benignitati placuit vestra in Evangelii emolumentum molimina etiam apud nos benedictione suâ comitari.

Quamvis vero Excellentissimus Dominus Legatus Britannicus quæ occasione epistolæ a Reverendissimo Domino Episcopo Bristolensi ad se scriptæ acta sunt plenius perscribet, spero tamen Illustrissimæ vestræ Paternitati non ingratum fore si et ipse quæ de his comperta habeo humillime significem.

Nempe postquam Excellentissimus Dominus legatus die 7 Feb. St. N. rem de qua agitur Baroni *Printzio* aperuissit, hic proximo die cum Domino Episcopo nostro sermonem contulit deque tota re edoctus eandem ad regem detulit, qui ipse quoque cum Domino Episcopo eandem prolixè communicavit. Admiratus autem est Episcopus seriem rei ante septennium fere gestæ tam recenti Regi memoriâ hæsisse ac si heri aut nudius-tertius gesta fuisset. Cæterum Rex eodem quo olim animo se etiamnum esse et *Printzio* et Episcopo testatus est: huicque et mihi commisit eam rem sedulo ut tractemus, nemine tamen præterea ad secreti participationem tantisper admissio, dum prius fundamento rite posito res cum fructu ad alios divulgari queat.

Printzius de Regis voluntate Dominum Legatum reddidit certiore; cumque Dominus Legatus declarationem istam Scripto sibi fieri desiderassit, id quoque facile obti-

nuit. Neque dubito quin epistolæ *Printzianæ* exemplum per hodiernum tabellarium ad Reverendissimum Dominum Episcopum *Bristolensem* idem sit missurus; in qua epistola si quid forte occurrerit quod paulo aliter Scriptum nonnemo exoptaret, dignabitur Illustrissima vestra Paternitas gratiose perpendere, Baronem *Printzium* virum equidem esse prudentem, perspicacem, pium, magnanimum bonæque voluntatis plenissimum, hoc tamen in negotio, (quod antequam ipse Ministerio Aulico admoveretur gestum est) novitium, neque forte hactenus de omnibus tunc actis satis eruditum. Talis tamen est qualem modo dixi, et a quo in ecclesiæ emolumentum plurima expectari debeant.

Hic vero mirari subit divinæ circa nos providentiæ sapientiam et bonitatem quæ ultra expectationem ita omnes res disposuit, ut animis eorum qui hâc in re plurimum possunt favorabiliter inclinatis, obstaculis quæ hactenus fuere maximam partem remotis, mediis vero quæ vix optari, certe non sperari poterant ultro oblatis, rem quæ alias impossibilis videbatur, non tantum possibilem, sed etiam probabilem reddident.

Quod si jam divinæ sapientiæ prudentiam humanam non nihil obstetricari par est, duo ad opus Sanctissimum feliciter promovendum requiri videntur. Unum quidem ut Excellentissimus Dominus Legatus *Britannicus* nomine Serenissimæ Reginæ negotium istud tractare jubeatur; alterum vero ut dimissio *Halesii* de quâ nuper prolixus fui maturetur. Neque enim beneficium quod cis marinis Ecclesiis destinavistis, sanctissimi Præsules, Prussiæ nostræ limitibus circumscribendum est, utpotè tunc demum vere magnum et præclarum, vobisque antistites Apostolici dignum futurum si ad universos Protestantes se extenderit scissis ipsorum ecclesiis ad unionem reductis, et liturgiâ quantum fieri potest uni-

versali per omnes ecclesias Protestantæ introducta.
Utriusque autem viam *Halesii* negotio præparabit.

Illustrissime et Reverendissime Archi-Præsul,

Reverendissimæ Paternitatis vestræ

Filius obedientissimus et

Servus humillimus,

DAN. ERN. JABLousKI.

Berolini, d. 14. Feb. st. n. 1711.

NO. VIII.

L'Apostille d'une lettre écrite par Mons. Bonnet, (le Resident du Frederic Roy de Prusse à Londres) à sa Majesté Prussienne.

17 de Mars, 1711.

(P. S.)

Sire,

Dans cette même conversation que j'eus hier avec le même Secrétaire d'Etat *St. John*, il m'entretint aussy des affaires ecclesiastiques, qui regardent l'état de votre Majesté; et cela a l'occasion des lettres et transactions qu'il y a eu sur cette affaire entre l'Archevêque d'*York* et le Docteur *Jablouski*; et entre l'Evêque de *Bristol*, (connu cy devant par son nom de *Robinson* et par son caractère d'envoyé à la cour de *Suede*), et le *Lord* et Ambassadeur *Raby*; et entre celui cy et le Ministre d'Etat de votre Majesté le *Baron de Printzen*. J'avois déjà eu quelque communication de cette affaire par l'Archevêque de *York*, et par le dit Evêque de *Bristol*, qui sont tous deux parfaitement bien dans l'esprit de la Reyne, tres estimés du present ministere :

et qui m'ont montré quelques unes de ces lettres du sçen et du gré de sa Majesté. Mais l'entretien du sus mentionné Secretaire d'Etat a été plus précis, en ce qu'il m'a fait connoître qu'il seroit bien aise que j'écrivisse en cour.

Il commença par me temoigner le de-plaisir que la Reyne et le clergé ressentoient de ce qu'on avoit répondu froidement a la traduction Allemande, (qui fuit imprimée à *Berlin*, 1734, du livre de la liturgie Anglicane; qu'on avoit imputé cette froideur au caractere de l'Archevêque de *Canterbury*. Il ajouta que sa Majesté et le clergé seroient tres disposés a entretenir une correspondance avec le clergé des etats de *Prusse*, et autres de ses provinces; à entrer en negotiation là dessus; et à faire toutes les avances qu'on jugeroit convenables à ce sujet, comme il avoit lui même mandé au sus dit Ambassadeur. Et la dessus il me parla à diverses reprises d'une lettre *tres senseé, et tres bien écrite*, comme il s'explica, du sus mentionné Ministre le Baron de *Printzen* à *my Lord Raby*, et que la Reyne a fort approuvé.

Je lui dis que je n'avois pas été honoré des tres gracieux ordres de votre Majesté sur ce sujet; que je n'étois pas même bien instruit du plan qu'on pouvoit se proposer, non plus que de la disposition des peuples souvent embrageux, prevenus contre la nouveauté, et dont on doit toujours consulter les inclinations avant que de faire aucun pas de cette nature; et qu'il faut instruire et preparer par degrés pour les faire entrer dans les veües les plus salutaires. Mais j'ajoutay que je ne manquerois pas d'exposer les inclinations de la Reyne sur cette matiere.

Avant que de le quitter il me repeta encore le dessein

ou est icy la cour et le clergé de correspondre, d'entrer en negotiation, et de faire des avances pour l'union de ces Eglises Protestantes de deça et de delà la mer, mais sans entrer dans aucune precision.

Je ne me jetteray pas, Sire, dans des considerations sur la nature du service de l'Eglise Anglicane, le plus parfait peutêtre qu'il y ayt parmy les Protestans ; quoi que les années qu'il y a que je n'en frequente pas d'autre, ayent peu me donner lieu de réfléchir un peu sur le rituel et la pratique de cette Eglise, aussi bien que sur quelques abus qu'il y a dans son clergé et dans sa discipline. Je m'attacheray tres humblement à d'autres considerations. La premiere, qu'on verroit icy avec plaisir une conformité des eglises Prusiennes, et autres des etats de votre Majesté, avec celle de l'Eglise Anglicane. La seconde, que la conformité qu'on peut souhaiter par deça regardera moins un changement dans la liturgie et dans le rituel, que dans le gouvernement ecclesiastique ; on est icy pour l'episcopal, qu'on regarde du moins comme d'institution Apostolique. La plus part du clergé est icy dans la prevention, qu'il y a une succession non interrompüe depuis les apôtres jusqués à present ; et suivant cette supposition ils pretendent qu'il n'y a point de bon gouvernement ecclesiastique que celui où il se rencontre des evêques de cet ordre, ni des veritables ministres de l'evangile, que ceux qui ont été ordinés par des evêques. Et si d'autres ne vont pas si loin ils font toujours une grande difference entre les ministres d' l'evangile qui ont receu l'imposition des mains d'un evêque, ou d'un synode composé des ministres ordinaires—une troisieme consideration c'est q'une conformité de cette nature seroit un triomphe pour l'Eglise Anglicane dont elle

tiendrait conte ; et que le clergé uni avec la cour et les *Touries* font un corps puissant et considerable. D'autre part les Whigs, les Presbiteriens ; et les Independans et d'autres Nonconformistes ne se feliciteroient pas de cette conformité qui les desarme, qui donne prise contre eux qui affoibliroit leur parti. Ils la regarderoient avec chagrin, et la Maison Electorale de *Brunswick* qui conte bien plus sur ces derniers que sur les premiers craindroit que cette conformité n'eut d'autres consequences. Mais si les Whigs sont plus pecunieux, par ce qu'ils sont plus dans le commerce ; et si leur chefs ont la reputation d'avoir a present, une superiorité de genie ; les autres ont une superiorité de force plus réelle, et plus constante.

Ut in ratione humillimâ, &c.

De Londres ce Mardy,
17 de Mars, 1711.

No. IX.

Illustrissime, &c.

Dominus Legatus Britannicus, *My Lord Raby*, ipso quo hinc discesset die, (erat vero d. 24tus Martii st. n.) mihi exposuit accepisse se ab Illustrissimo Statûs Secretario *Domino St. John* mandata Serenissimæ Reginæ quibus rem nostram ecclesiasticam apud *Baronem Printzium*, Episcopum, et alios urgere, auxiliaque tam ipsius Reginæ quam cleri Britannici in re tam sancta promittere jubebatur : adfuisse etiam hesterna die ædibus *Printzianis* mandata regia executurum ; quod vero eas possessore vacuas reperisset mihi committere, ut suo

nomine epistolæ prædictæ exemplum et Baroni *Printzio*, et Domino Episcopo communicarem; id quod sequenti die feci.

Epistola illa *St. Johniana*, quanta est, pietatem et generositatem Britannicam spirans, insignem nobis voluptatem creavit, spesque nostras mirum in modum erexit.

Excepit hanc paucos intra dies epistola residentis apud Britannos Prussici Domini *Bonneti* die $\frac{6}{17}$ Martii, *Londino* scripta, qua is regi significabat illustrissimum *St. Johnium* de negotio nostro prolixè secum contulisse, ejus ulteriorem progressum exoptasse, reginæque et cleri Britannici subsidiariam operam liberaliter obtulisse. Epistola isthæc eo cum primis nomine est memorabilis, quod illustrissimum *St. Johnium* sistat non solum generalia illa ingeminantem, velle ecclesiam Britannicam cum Prussiâ correspondentiam fraternam colere, vinculo arctiore ei jungi, &c. verum etiam præcisè declarantem cupere se de istis ad regem referri; quibus *Bonnetus* addit, a Britannis non tam liturgiæ quam regiminis potius ecclesiastici confirmatam respici: quibus verbis vir prudens par compendium in ipsam negotii arcem invadit.

Epistolam *Bonneti* Baro *Printzius* Episcopo, mihiq; sed cuique seorsum, communicavit; petiitque ut pari ratione, nostra ea de re cogitata seorsum sibi scripte exhiberemus; id quod ego hesternâ die ita exsecutus sum ut *παρρησία* usus, qualis servum Jesu Christi tali in casu decet; Liturgiam Anglicanæ similem, et Hierarchiam episcopalem, gravibus, (uti mihi quidem videntur) argumentis suaserim. Quomodo isthæc mea Baroni *Printzio* sese probavit hactenus ignoro: urbe enim abest. Ipse verò affirmaverat se et meam et epis-

copi sententiam secum maturè expensurum, et quod conscientia suasisset regi in concilio propositurum esse.

Accessurum esse partibus nostris generosa et magnanima viri pietas spem facit, qui etiam quæ sentirem libere me proloqui jussit, addito, invidiam rei et odium sua fore. Opportune verò Bonnetus significarat illustrissimum St. Johnium epistolam Printzii nuper ad my Lord Raby scriptam iteratis vicibus *une lettre tres senseé et tres bien ecrite* appellasse, eandemque Serenissimæ reginæ apprimè placuisse. "*Principibus placuisse viris non ultima laus est;*" ita generosæ menti cum primis delectabile. Hæc hactenus pater Reverendissime; plura scribenda essent sed quæ chartæ committi commodè nequeant. Itaque *Reverendum Ayerst* Excellentissimo Domino Rabio a Sacris, virum judicio supra ætatem acri et qui venerationi erga ecclesiam patriam, moderationem erga exterarum prudenter junxit, rogavi, ut in Britanniam cum Excellentissimo Domino Legato delatus, (id quod brevi futurum esse augurabatur) Reverendissimæ Paternitatæ vestræ cuncta coram enarret. Est enim rerum nostrarum egregie callens, eumque ego virum consiliorum et actionum mearum testem mihi legeram, ut cujus candorem æque ac zelum habebam perspectum.

Turbulenta etiamnum Europæ scena exposcere videtur ut Excellentissimo Rabio, alius Augustæ Reginæ Legatus in aulâ nostrâ succedat, qui ad felicem adversumve negotii successum maximum utique momentum est collaturus. Sit ergo vir qui prudentiæ civili pietatem junctam habeat; qui non solum Magnæ Annæ legatum, sed etiam Jesu Christi servum se esse meminerit, utriusque regno ampliando destinatum. Qui dignitatem externam internâ virtute augeat; utrâque vero apud regem et

ministros auctoritatem et existimationem sibi conciliare; hâc ipsâ autem in emolumentum ecclesiæ uti sciat.

Sed quo me zelus pro Deo, et gloriâ ejus abripit! ut cum pius esse cupio, temerarius factus videar! In tuâ, præsul Apostolice, pietate spem veniæ impetrandæ omnem pono; qui et ipse cum Apostolo experiris *quanta sit vis amoris Christi Nos constringentis.*

Halesius vester, gaudia nostra, plus nimio moratur; quem tamen publica ecclesiæ commoda non vocant tantum, sed inclamant accersuntque. Inter innumeros ejus apud cis marinos Præsentiaæ fructus, is inter primos esset, idemque in præsens, peropportunus, ut cum linguæ nostræ ipse peritus sit, Germanicæ regiones liturgiâ personarent Anglicanâ, sicque nostri homines rei insolitæ paulatim adsuescerent.

Vale Archi-præsul illustrissimæ, et paterno favore complecti perge.

Reverendissimæ paternitatis vestræ,

Servum humillimum

Atque devinctissimum,

DAN. ERN. JABLOUSKI.

Berolini, d. 28, April, 1711.

No. X.

Illustrissime, &c.

Novissimas meas die 23 Aprilis scriptas ad reverendissimam paternitatem vestram rectè delatas esse haud dubito ; quibus quæ circa *Epistolam* Bonneti ad regem acta sunt retuli. Nudius tertius literas accepi a Barone *Printzio* quibus cogitata mea ad *relationem illam Bonnetianam* sibi haud displicuisse testabatur ; simulque desiderabat ut modum delinearem quo Episcopatus citrà offensam, et citra *Jurium Majestatis circa Sacra* imminutionem introduci queat ; ejus enim rei in cogitatis illis mentio facta fuerat neque minùm videri debet talia quæri, quandoquidem Episcopatus prout in ecclesiâ Romanâ viget, et qui solus in imperio Germanico oculis Protestantium observatur, principibus gravis et injurius jure creditur. In animo eo sum, ut mandata illustrissimi viri satisfaciam ; cui negotium cordi esse perspicio : tantum enim abfuit, ut libertate quâ usus fueram offenderetur, ut contra iteratò me monuerit senza animi audacter promerem, invidiâ, si quæ rem comitaretur, in se devolutâ. Cumque negotium fere suprâspem procedat, reverendissimæ paternitati vestræ non ingratum fore arbitratus sum, si exemplar *relationis Bonnetianæ* secum communicarem : premendum tamen ne a me submissum fuisse innotescat. Mitterem etiam cogitata de hoc scripto mea, sed quia idiomate vernaculo concepta sunt, ad reverendissimum Ayerst ceu secretorum meorum pridem participem dirigenda duxi, ut ipsius opera Anglicè expressa ad reverendissimam paternitatem vestram deferantur.

Utinam vero Halesius vester mari trajecto nobis passim laborantibus tandem succurrat. Ipsius ope et liturgiæ vestræ apud nostros homines amor conciliari, et unionis Protestantium semina spargi, et plurima alia ad eximum istam scopum collineantia effici possent. O si desiderato hâc de re nuntio quanto ocyus beari nobis contingat!

Tu vero Pater venerabilissime interea vale, Deo et gratiæ ejus filiali pietate commendatus.

Illustrissime, &c. &c.

DAN. ERN. JABLousKI.

Berolini, 5 Maii, St. N. 1711.

No. XI.

Idem

ad Eundem.

Illustrissime, &c. &c.

Veniam præfari animus erat, pater indulgentissime, quod gravissimos tuos labores iterum auderem interstrepere; quia vero sublimem illam tuam, plurimumque simul capacem animum in negotiis tam piis lassescere charitas Christi prohibet, in conspectum tuum intrepidus prodeo.

Nempe Rex noster serenissimus iter Belgicum nudius tertius ingressus est, Baroque *Printzius* mihi valedicens affirmavit de re liturgiâ et hierarchiâ in Belgio consilia agitatum iri. Hoc jam me movet, pater reverentissime, imo vero urget et impellit ut per Deum quem colis, et per ecclesiam cujus zelo flagras, te orem, ne *eximiam istam opportunitatem pietati tuæ elabi patiaris*. Rex enim ut et Baro *Printzius* negotio nostro favere

videntur: cujus rei egregium est specimen, quod Printz-
 ius abiturus Episcopo Vice-Presidium in Foro Eccle-
 siastico, etiam sigillo ejus fidei commisso, obtulit.

Hanc Spartam jam tunc abhinc septennio Rex Epis-
 copo destinaverat; sed minus faventium studio effectum
 fuit non solum ne ille honor Episcopo tunc obveniret
 verum etiam ut circiter abhinc biennio velut lege lata
 caveretur, ne vel Episcopus vel alius vir *Ecclesiasticus*
 munere illo unquam fungi posset. Veruntamen eâ con-
 stitutione neglectâ Episcopus absente Printzio Vice-
 Presidio defungi jussus est. Eaque res tantò jam est
 memorabilior quia hoc ipsum ego posteriore meo scripto
 suasi, atque Episcopo vindicavi. Rationem vero quâ
 cum Rege cum *Printzio* porro agendum sit consumma-
 tissima paternitatis vestræ prudentia optime iniverit.

Ego interim utrumque quod jussu Printzii exaravi
 scriptum, una cum Printzii epistolâ ad me data, tem-
 poris lucrandi causâ, ad reverendissimum patrem Epis-
 copum Bristolensem misi, cum reverendissima pater-
 nitate vestra cõmmunicanda; non quod chartulas illas
 meas aliquid esse putem, verum 1^{mo} ut reverendissima
 vestra paternitas mentem Printzii ex ipsius epistola ut-
 cunque estimare queat; hæc autem absque meis non
 satis posset intelligi, 2^{do} ut sicubi minus recte sentio
 a reverendissima vestra paternitate gratiose corrigar
 3^{io} ut *etiam si forte res minus feliciter cederet, prostaret
 tamen apud vos testis veritatis qui nostram de Hierarchiâ
 ecclesiastica sententiam posteritati testaretur.*

Sed tamen argumenta quibus utor genio loci et tem-
 poris subinde attemperare coactus fui; qua in re me
 non peccasse arbitrer dummodo principali ad quem
 collineo scopo nihil decederet.

Jam vale pater indulgentissime dulce Decus meum et

Ecclesiæ Prussicæ Presidium. Iterum vale et felix
sospesque diutissimè perenna.

Illustrissimæ et reverendissimæ paternitatis vestræ

Filius obedientissimus et servus humillimus,

DAN. ERN. JABLousKI.

Berolini, d. 23 Maii, 1711.

NO. XII.

Dr. Jablousky's Reflections on a Letter of Mr. Bonnet's, the King of Prussia's Resident at London, to the King his Master, dated London, the 17th of March, 1711; which Reflections were presented to Baron Printz at Berlin, April 27, 1711.

It will be unnecessary to make any remarks on the relation with which *Mr. Bonnet* begins his letter, especially since the principal things contained in it are repeated again in the three considerations with which he concludes the said relation.

The first of these is, that a conformity of the Prussian with the English Church, would be very agreeable there (in England.)

This is by so much the more credible, for that the English Church has now at its helm so many wise and prudent men, who are very sensible that the strength of the whole Protestant body consists in the harmony and firm union of its several members. Indeed the Church of England has, from the beginning of the Reformation, always kept a brotherly correspondence with the Churches on this side the water, as among others, *Monsieur La Motte*, minister of the French

Church in the Savoy, London, has made appear in two learned treatises which he published in the years 1705 and 1707. However, the *Reformed Churches* on this side, though agreeing with that of England (*quoad interna et dogmatica*), yet differing very remarkably (*quoad externa et ritualia*)—this brotherly correspondence was not always so close and firm as was to have been wished. And not only the Presbyterians in England have endeavoured to loosen this band, to strengthen their own party, by giving out that we were on their side, in contradistinction to the Church of England, but the Lutherans also in Germany have several times given to understand that they were of the Church of England's party; *we Reformed* of that of the Presbyterians; a nearer conformity, therefore, between us could not but be very agreeable and advantageous on both sides.

II. Mr. Bonnet's second consideration is, *that there (in England) not only an agreement in the Church Liturgy, but likewise in the Church government, was mightily wished.*

As to the Liturgy, Mr. Bonnet does just before, not without good grounds, pass his judgment, *that the service of the Church of England is by much the most perfect of any used in the Reformed Churches.* To which we may add, that those who have any understanding in those matters have observed several defects in the divine service of the *Reformed Churches* on this side the sea, which, for the public edification, they wished to see mended. As our Majesty, our gracious Sovereign himself, has, according to his most illustrious piety and wisdom, made several very wholesome regulations* in these

* Viz. Set forms of prayer after sermon, kneeling at prayer, &c.

matters, and had lately a design of doing much more*. The Church of *Neufchatel* has likewise, with the approbation of that of *Geneva*, made some few years ago the like changes, and ordered their public worship after the English manner, though much shorter.

I had likewise the last year the honour to propose my humble sentiments how a Christian and edifying Liturgy ought to be formed; but forasmuch as the English Liturgy is for the most part taken from the *best antiquity*, not only *quoad formam*, sed *quoad materiam et ipsa verba*, and is composed with so much simplicity, as well as majesty, that, on account of the former it may be understood by the meanest, and on account of the latter may edify and instruct the greatest capacity—therefore it would no doubt be incomparably the shortest way to a conformity to go through the English Liturgy, and see what part of it would be edifying and useful among us, and could be *retained*, and what might be *necessary to alter* or leave out, on account of the many different circumstances we lay under. Or if it be so thought fit, the Liturgy may be composed after the manner and form of that at *Neufchatel*.

His Majesty might introduce this new Liturgy first in the royal chapel, and some of the principal Churches, where are the most understanding members, who may be able to judge of the reason and grounds of things, till, by degrees, a more general conformity might be effected.

I must not here forget what that judicious divine of *Neufchatel*, Monsieur *Ostervald*, mentions, viz. that

* *Viz.* To introduce an entire new Liturgy.

it is reasonable to think, that by such means an universal Liturgy may in time be introduced into all the Protestant Churches, which would indeed be a most noble and useful work; but which may, according to all appearance, be entered upon with more success, when the union between the two Protestant Churches, the *Reformed* and *Lutheran*, shall by God's assistance be first effected.

As to the *Episcopal way of Church government*, Mr. Bonnet does very truly represent the opinion of the Church of England concerning it. To which we may add that of the learned Palatine-Divine, Abr. Scultetus, who deserved so well of all Germany, especially of the Reformed Church here of Brandenburg, and was knowing in Christian antiquity. He, in his annotations on the second chapter of the Epistle to Titus, lays down and clearly makes out the following proposition:—"Episcopatum," as his words are, "esse juris Divini, h. e. Apostolos hoc Ecclesiæ regimen instituisse, ut unus aliquis non solum populo, sed etiam *pastoribus et diaconis præficiatur penes quem sit et manum impositio sive ordinatio, et consiliorum ecclesiasticorum directio.*"

Likewise that most learned, and in this point irreproachable lawyer and Protestant, Hugo Grotius, does in his book *De Imperio summarum Protestatum circa sacra*, lay down and learnedly prove the four following theses:—"Episcopatum ab universali ecclesiâ fuisse receptum: initium habuisse apostolicis temporibus: jure divino fuisse approbatum: magnas in ecclesia utilitates ex Episcopatu redundasse."

And as Scultetus and Grotius attribute this institution to the apostles, so do the most ancient Fathers of the Church assure us, that in this the Apostles followed

their Master's example, who likewise divided his messengers, whom he sent to preach the Gospel, into two orders, viz. the twelve Apostles and the seventy Disciples, of which the former were the first and higher order, the latter were of the second and lower rank.

It is likewise very remarkable there is no doctrine or tenet of the Christian religion, in which all Christians in general have, for the space of 1500 years, so unanimously agreed as in this of Episcopacy. *In all ages and times*, down from the Apostles, and in *all places* through Europe, Asia, and Africa, wheresoever there were Christians, there were likewise bishops; and even where Christians differed in other points of doctrine or custom, and made schisms or divisions in the Church, yet did they all remain unanimous in this, *in retaining their bishops*. The Arians, who had in a manner overturned the whole Christian religion; the Nestorians, the Eutychians, and the rest of those sects which still prevail in the Eastern Church, did all retain this ancient and deep-implanted idea of Episcopal Church government. In like manner in the Western Church, when, just before the great Reformation, the followers of Huss in Bohemia separated themselves from the Romish Church, they made this one of their first cares to preserve an Episcopal succession (*successionem Episcopalem*) for their little Church, and that by the means of some Bishops of the Vaudois, who were at that time there in exile, which happened in the year 1467, which may be seen in Regemwolscius's *Hist. Eccles. Slavon.* p. 33.

Neither is all this so much to be wondered at, if we consider that the Christians had every where received these ideas of Episcopal government from the persons

and writings of the most ancient Fathers of the Church, who were the Apostles own disciples, and for the most part bishops themselves, such as Ignatius, Polycarp, Clemens Romanus, and the like. Eusebius, the most ancient Church historian we have, has very exactly described the series of the Bishops' succession in those principal Churches of Jerusalem, Antioch, Rome, &c. down from the Apostles to this time; that, is, for the space of three hundred years after Christ's birth. Which succession continued in the same manner till the time of the Reformation, when we in Germany *were the first who ever departed from this well-established practice*; for the design was, to make the Romish Church smart as much as possible, and because Bishops had assumed to themselves too much, we fell into quite the other extreme, and were engaged in such contests and confusion, that Christian antiquity was the more easily forgot in the dispute. Though, according to Grotius's remark, the then laying aside of Episcopacy was not designed to be perpetual, but only *for a time*; and Beza himself, who was the sharpest adversary of that order, seems to acknowledge, that the reasons for laying it aside were but temporary, since he says, that he would not be thought to be of opinion, that the ancient order of Bishops ought not to be again restored, *si ruinæ Ecclesiæ restitutæ essent**. So that Beza seems to consent, that Episcopacy might be again introduced into the Church, when purged from all papistical abuses, which it now entirely is among Protestants.

And indeed that great change from the ancient way,

* Grotius de jure Summar, protest circa sacra, cap. xi. s. 12.

was not made without giving great offence to the Eastern Churches, who, in certain conferences heretofore held in Poland and Lithuania would scarce acknowledge the then Protestants for Christians, because they had deserted the universal form of Church government; whereas, on the contrary, those Churches have always shewn a particular veneration and love for the English Church, on account of its hierarchy.

In my opinion, I hold these two things for certain. First, that a subordination in the Church government is as necessary as in all other societies and bodies politic. Our Saviour compares himself to a captain or general, and his Church to an army; but now, if all the officers of an army were equal, and depended directly upon the director of military affairs, without any subordination, how could such an army be managed, or of what use could it be?

Secondly, that this necessary subordination can no ways better be effected than by a well regulated Episcopacy. 1st. *Propter venerationem primitivæ et conformitatem præsentis Ecclesiæ Christianæ, ne cum a Romanâ discessimus a Catholicâ discessisse videamur.* And, 2dly. not to give offence and scandal to those Christians both in the East and West, who have still retained the ancient constitution. 3dly. In order to bring the clergy out of that contempt into which in several places they are fallen, it is well known, that no man of any fashion among us will any longer let his children study divinity; so that in this great city, where there wants not a stock of children in almost every family, there are but two *reformed* students of divinity, one of which is a baker's, the other a tailor's son. And though divines should design their children for that study, and

they themselves should at first shew some inclination to it, yet, as soon as they are grown up to years, and are able to *reflect on the present state of the clergy*, they then change their minds, and choose rather to apply themselves to secular studies and employments; examples of which are sufficiently known. But now from hence can proceed nothing else but that mean persons, who have neither education, nor the necessary helps or means to it, who must maintain themselves by *pedagoguing and living in other men's families*, who have neither learning nor conduct, and who, by consequence, will bring shame rather than honour upon the holy order, will be set apart for divinity; whereby it comes to pass that the public edification is hindered, and vice and profaneness have a free scope, since, in the persons of such men, the office itself must necessarily be condemned. This is certainly not the right way to thank God for the gracious light of his holy Gospel. When God himself formed a government both in Church and State, he ordained an *high priest*, with several other orders of priests and Levites depending on him. And the first high priest he chose was no less than the leader Moses's *brother*; he provided likewise the whole order with suitable revenues and authority. On the contrary, when the ungodly, schismatical Jeroboam instituted his order of Church government, the Spirit of God does remark of him, in two several places, with a peculiar emphasis, *that he made the priests out of the meanest of the people*. I cannot but confess these passages have often caused in me sad reflections and a troubled heart. 4thly. It is well known that the Romish Church accounts the Protestants' ordination without bishops to be *invalid*, for that

bare Presbyters have no power to ordain, according to that rule of Epiphanius, *Quinam vero fieri potest, ut is Presbyterum constituat, ad creandum quem manuum imponendarum jus nullum habet? And therefore, from the Apostles' question, how shall they preach, except they are sent?* they constantly make this objection to the Protestant ministers, *Quis te misit?* Let this objection be as it will, good or bad, yet it were certainly the best and safest way to regulate the ordination of ministers by the means of Episcopacy, that this objection may fall of itself. To my knowledge, several pious and learned candidates of divinity, who began to have some taste of antiquity, have had great scruples in this case, and some, on this account, have chosen rather to go and receive ordination in England. I, for my part, have had no occasion for the like scruples, since the *Bohemian Union*, in which I was bred up and ordained, and which had its original from Huss before the great Reformation, has retained (in the above-mentioned manner) the *filium successivum Episcopalis, et missionum ministrorum Ecclesiæ*, even to this day.

But though the introducing of Episcopacy be in itself so praiseworthy, and when regulated in due manner would be highly profitable to the Church, yet there seems to be so many obstacles among our German Protestants, that it will require a very *heroic spirit* to get over all those received opinions and other difficulties, which may lay in the way of this undertaking.

I defer, therefore, for a time, to enter into any more particular considerations on this matter; though it would not be at all difficult to point out a way to establish Episcopacy in such a manner as should *give no offence*, and not in the least weaken, but rather

strengthen the *jura majistatis circa Sacra*; nor yet the authority of the director of ecclesiastical affairs be in the least diminished by it, but only the Ease of his conscience better consulted, since, by our present constitution, he is forced to manage this vast extensive care of all the Churches, only as a work by the by, and is unable to put a timely stop to any growing evil till it has broken out into scandal and disorder. 3d. Mr. Bonnet's third consideration is, *that this conformity would indeed be a triumph for the Church of England, but would mightily displease and weaken the party of the Presbyterians.*

And so indeed it would, if we look upon the matter only politically, and according to state maxims. But when the view and design of the whole work is *not* the favouring this or that party, but the honour of God, and the enlarging the kingdom of Jesus Christ, things must, and may be so ordered, that the triumph be only our Saviour's, and each party may draw equal advantage from it. As thus, when by means of this conformity, the Prussian and the English Churches shall be perfectly united, they both may join to heal the wounds of the rest of the Protestants. The Church of England, which is every where in so great veneration among the Lutherans, would be a proper instrument to unite the Protestants on this side the sea; the very conformity with that Church being itself a great step to such an union. On the other side his Majesty our most gracious Sovereign might very gratefully and effectually employ his interests in England to unite the Nonconformists with the Established Church. His Majesty is in the highest veneration both with the Church and nation, by reason of the many proofs he

has given of his great piety and patriot zeal for the common welfare; and the Nonconformists have likewise the highest trust and confidence in his Majesty, since, according to the relation we are now speaking of, they look upon his Majesty, if not on their side, yet as not against them. Besides, there are great numbers of them who live in his Majesty's dominions, and under his protection, where *no difference is made between Conformists and Nonconformists*. There is no potentate upon earth who has better opportunities of going through with such a work than his Majesty, who, if he would shew how justly he carries the name of *Friedereich* (rich in peace), and would exert himself so as to make the effects of it felt, not only in Germany by uniting the Protestants there, but even as far as Great Britain, by healing their divisions, the merit of it towards the Church of Christ would exceed comparison. *His olive-branches would infinitely excel the palms of conquerors*, and his glory would remain bright among posterity, even to the end of the world.

When Mr. Bonnet adds, *that the Electoral House of Hanover reckons more upon the Whigs than the Tories, and therefore the projected conformity might raise in them some umbrage*, I suppose he then had in his thoughts not the true *Tories* (that is, those who hold to the Church of England *as by law established*; among which is the Queen herself and all the present ministry), but he meant only those who associate themselves with the *Tories*, in order to conceal themselves among them, and enjoy their protection, though at the bottom they are *Jacobites* and ill-designing persons. Such men, indeed, are little to be depended upon; but the true *Tories* are those who began this chargeable war against *James's*

patron, and who in the present Parliament do so vigorously maintain it. If these men were more inclined to the pretended Prince of Wales than to the House of Hanover, it were easy for them *to put an end to the war in favour of the Prince*, and by that means spare a great many millions.

But all the proceedings of the present ministry shew that the true *Tories* are likewise the true sustainers of the interests of the House of Hanover, as well as of the Monarchy and Church, whereas, on the contrary, there be *hid* among the *Whigs such factions, as, if suffered to get strength*, would be no less dangerous to the House of Hanover, than to the Church and Monarchy. It is true, indeed, that the late Hanover minister, Baron Schutz, who came into England in the time of King William, and died there the last year, did not hold so much with those called by the name of *Tories**, as with the *Whigs*; who at last got all the power into their hands, but that was only a personal affair of that minister, whose successor does at present accommodate himself to the times, and by pursuing his Master's interest with the *Tories*, will no doubt succeed.

And since the House of Hanover is in expectation of the English Crown, 'tis not to be doubted, if the Queen shall think fit to make any proposals towards this union, but they will be particularly acceptable to that house, for that they cannot come to the crown without first declaring themselves of the Church of England, which may be done with a better grace by

* My Lords Rochester and Nottingham.

means of the union ; whereas without it, there will still remain this objection, that they have changed their religion for a crown.

Berlin, 27th April, 1711.

No. XIII.

Baron Printz's Answer upon the Doctor's Reflections being communicated to him.

Worthy Sir,

I have not failed to read over, with a very particular attention, and consequently, so much greater satisfaction, the *Reflections* you sent me concerning our known affair ; and having seen, among other things, that you think a way might be found out, (notwithstanding the prejudices, and inveterate opinions, and the many difficulties, which, 'tis to be feared, might thence arise), to introduce and establish an approved Episcopacy, in such a manner as should give no offence, nor at all weaken or diminish the *jura Majestatis circa sacra* : especially in a government entirely sovereign. I do therefore instantly desire you by this, that, according to your highly laudable zeal for the promoting the true welfare of the Protestant Religion, you would be so good as to write down, at your leisure, those your thoughts, and communicate them to me, which I will not only make use of in such a cautious manner as you desire, that you shall not fear incurring any censure or envy on that account ; but will not fail, in proper time and place, to extol the great care and pains you

have taken, as being, on many other accounts, with a very particular high esteem and true passion, &c.

M. L. PRINTZEN.

Charlottenbury, 3d May, 1711.

No. XIV.

Dr. Jablousky's Project of introducing Episcopacy in the King of Prussia's Dominions, presented to Baron Printz, Director of Ecclesiastical Affairs.

I. The introducing of Episcopacy, may be looked upon as *dangerous*, either with respect to the *Sovereign*, least his authority in ecclesiastical affairs should thereby be in some measure infringed, or else with respect to the people, who might look upon it as a step towards Popery. In the first respect it must be made appear, that a Protestant Episcopacy does no ways diminish or infringe the *jura Majestatis circa sacra*, but rather strengthens and confirms them: in the latter respect, all prudent cautions must be taken to dispossess the minds of the people of those prejudices they may have against it, and likewise that the Episcopal authority be established in such a manner as that nothing be introduced *with it* which may give any real cause of offence.

II. The Episcopal jurisdiction, as it is practised in the Church of Rome, is utterly inconsistent with the rights and authority of Christian princes; and that in a two-fold manner: First, because those bishops attribute to themselves certain rights in the government of the Church which belong to the sovereign; and secondly,

Because they do not acknowledge the prince of the country, but the Pope of Rome, for their *supreme head in Ecclesiastical affairs*. The first intrenches upon the sovereign's prerogative, the second entirely destroys it, as setting up an *imperium in imperio*; one state within another.

III. The Protestants have better learned to give to God and Cæsar, what to each of them belongs, since they acknowledge their sovereign as (*supremum custodem utriusque tabulæ*) supreme guardian of both tables of the law: and as by his right of guardian of the second table, all power belongs to him in *secular* affairs which is not inconsistent with justice and equity; so also, as guardian of the first table, all authority is allowed him in Ecclesiastical affairs which is not contrary to God's Word, and the real welfare of the Church: all which is emphatically expressed by the Church of England, when, in the public canonical *bidding of prayers* and before sermons, they stile the king "governor in all causes, and over all persons, as well ecclesiastical as civil. Supreme in these his realms."

IV. These *jura Majestatis circa sacra* shall presently be recounted, and proved more particularly, when we have first taken away a scruple that may here be raised, viz. Some Protestants have doubted whether that authority which princes have in ecclesiastical affairs, may properly be called *jus Episcopale*, an Episcopal jurisdiction, since no secular person can properly have any ecclesiastical authority; and as, among the Papists, bishops do unjustly pretend to be *princes*, so neither ought princes to pretend to be *bishops*.

This difficulty will be easily taken away, if we make the necessary distinction between the stricter use of

the word *Episcopus*, and its use in a greater latitude. In the stricter sense, wherein it signifies a person who executes the office of a preacher, administers sacraments, and ordains ministers, 'tis plain that a prince of a country, as such, is not a bishop. But in the more extensive signification of the word, wherein it only signifies in general, an administration and *inspection* over Ecclesiastical matters, the sovereign may certainly be stiled, in that sense, *Episcopus*, and has his Episcopal rights and jurisdiction, and that not only in the bare secular sense of the word, in which the Athenians stiled their Prætors, and the Romans their Ædiles, *Episcopi*, (whence Cicero calls himself *campaniæ et maritimæ oræ Episcopum*), but so far as a *Christian* sovereign is supreme governor likewise over all ecclesiastical persons and affairs; in which sense Constantine spoke these remarkable words in the presence of a great many bishops: *Vos quidem in iis que intra ecclesiam sunt; Episcopi estis; ego vero in iis quæ extra geruntur Episcopus a Deo sum constitutus*. This wise Emperor makes a just distinction between the *internals* of the ministry, and the external government of the Church, which is otherways called *potestas architectonica in ecclesia*: the former he left to the ecclesiastics, the latter he administered himself: whence Eusebius, who writ his life, and records this saying of him, adds: *Itaque consilia capiens dictis congruentia omnes imperio suo subjectos Episcopali sollicitudine gubernabat*. Since then *imperium in sacra, et sacra functio*, are different things, the first remains to the sovereign, the other to the minister of the altar.

V. Now to discover the particular branches of this authority of the sovereign in ecclesiastical affairs, we must, besides what sovereignty implies in its own

nature, have a particular regard to the examples of the Jewish kings under the Old Testament, and of the Christian emperors under the New, since the first governed the Church after God's own command, the latter with the approbation of the whole Christian world. And therefore, what was their right, may be likewise the right of our sovereigns.

Now from this rule thus laid down, it will plainly appear, that this ecclesiastical jurisdiction of the supreme power, does extend over all *ecclesiastical persons*, high and low, without exception, and that in relation to *appointing them* to their several offices, and *depriving them* of them when they deserve it.

2dly. Over all *ecclesiastical concerns*, Churches and Schools, to build and endow them, to keep them in good condition, to *appoint days of prayer*, humiliation, and thanksgiving, to correct disorders, and reform what is amiss.

3dly. *To make ecclesiastical constitutions*, to maintain them, to change or repeal them, as he shall find convenient, and punish those that disobey them.

4thly. *To call synods*, when necessary; to demand the opinion of his Clergy in matters proposed to them; to confirm their resolutions, as they may be found convenient, and give them the force of a law.

5thly. To endeavour, by gentle means, to bring heretics, infidels, and all that are in error, to the truth; to keep them in good order and peace; or, when the circumstances so require, for the common quiet, and to avoid greater evils, to send them out of the country.

VI. These are the chief branches of a sovereign's authority in ecclesiastical matters, in which are likewise comprehended the rest which are not here ex-

pressly named. And now, 'twould be easy to confirm all this by the examples of the above-mentioned Jewish kings and Christian emperors, were it not a thing already made out, and confessed by all Episcopal Protestants, and would here be too long and tedious. Let it at present suffice what that ancient Church historian, Socrates, relates: *Ex quo imperatores esse cæperunt Christiani res Ecclesiæ ab illis dependerunt*: and what the Emperor Justinian said of himself: *Non solum bella bene ordinamus sed etiam res sacras*. The reason of which that ancient Father of the Church, *Optatus Melevitanus*, thus expresses: *Non enim Respublica est in Ecclesia sed Ecclesia est in Republicâ*. Lib. III.

VII. From what hath hitherto been said concerning the rights of the sovereign in Church matters, it evidently appears that the Episcopal jurisdiction, as it is among Protestants, does not in the least infringe the rights of the sovereign in those affairs, since sovereigns, where there are no bishops, cannot pretend any other rights than those we have mentioned, which rights all Protestant bishops do readily grant and most *vigourously defend*. Whereas, on the contrary, not only the Romish Clergy on the one hand do utterly destroy those rights, but, on the other, the *tenets of the Presbyterians in England, do in this come so near the Romish*, as that of arrogating to themselves a right of holding synods, making ecclesiastical constitutions, and the like, *independently* of the prince or sovereign; whence King James the first looked upon the bishops as the chief support of his own authority, and often used to say—*No bishop no king*.

VIII. We must farther distinguish in this matter, (as Grotius has already remarked) *inter jus et modum*

juris recte exercendi. For, when we speak of introducing Episcopal Church Government under a Protestant Sovereign, the question is not *de jure principis circa sacra*; (that remains as full, perfect, and unlimited with bishops, as without them) but the question is, *de modo juris illius exercendi*; whether, for several weighty reasons, (which have been already offered) 'twould not be better, and more useful to the Church, if the Prince would exercise his Episcopal jurisdiction by bishops rather than others.

IX. For the Prince, without dispute, has the highest jurisdiction imaginable in ecclesiastical matters, yet cannot he possibly exercise that jurisdiction in his own person, but must let it be administered by other persons, whether secular or ecclesiastical. Therefore, since the prince exercises his civil authority by civil persons, the military affairs by military officers and the like; so *harmony* seems to require that ecclesiastical matters should be administered by ecclesiastical persons; since the same reasons, *a necessario, utili, et decoro*, will hold here as well as in any of the other cases.

X. How then did the Jewish kings and Christian emperors act in the administration of ecclesiastical matters? Of the former, I do not remember that they had any *intermediate secular person* whom they placed over their Clergy, as their deputy; especially since there was, in the whole kingdom, only one high priest who was *always with the king* in the residence city, and therefore received the king's orders immediately from himself; as, likewise, when there was a *prophet*, he usually spoke to the king in person.

The Christian emperors had likewise no constant *director in ecclesiastical affairs*, but have often, as occa-

sion required, made use of their Civil ministers to preside in ecclesiastical councils, to determine weighty causes, to be present in their name at synods, to judge in differences that might arise among bishops, &c.

Remarkable to this purpose are the words of *Constantine*, who having called a numerous council of bishops at Tyre, writ to them in this manner: *Misi et Dionysium consularem, qui et Episcopos illos, qui vobiscum esse debent, commoneat, et omnium quæ gerentur maxime verò modestiæ inspectar sit; si quis vero quod minim arbitramur, præceptum nostrum etiamnum violare præsumens adesse renuerit, mittetur quam primum a nobis aliquis qui imperiali auctoritate, hominem in exilium pellens, docebit imperatoris sanctionibus pro veritate editis minime esse repugnandum.*

This same Emperor, when that dangerous schism of the *Donatists* broke out in Africa, ordered that business to be examined first by an ecclesiastical commission of several bishops at *Rome*, afterwards in *Africa* by his proconsul there, and lastly by an ecclesiastical commission at *Arles*; and, in the same dispute, *Honorius* and *Theodosius*, who were emperors together, appointed *Marcellinus* the Tribune as principal commissary*. *Cui quidem disceptationi principe loco te judicem volumus præsidere*, as the words of the commission run; which commission *Marcellinus* did accordingly execute, though with a great deal of gentleness and modesty, speaking thus in the first assembly, in which abundance of *Donatists*, as well as Catholic bishops, were present: *Licet supra meritum meum hoc cognoscam esse judicium, ut inter eos videar judicare a quibus me potuis decuerat judecari, tamen quia certum est, hanc causam spectante Deo*

* In Opp. Optat. Mil. p. 442.

et Angelis testibus agitandam, quæ sub fidei cælestis examine vel probata præmium afferat vel læsa judicium, ut et præsentium disceptationibus Episcoporum veritas elucescat Imperialis primitus sanctio recitetur, &c.

The reigns of the ancient emperors are likewise full of such examples. But I think it unnecessary to produce any more, contenting myself to add this one out of history, because 'tis very remarkable and very much to our purpose. Henry the Eighth, King of England, though he still continued a Papist as to the faith, yet rejecting the Pope's supremacy which he *had* usurped over the English Clergy, he made himself be styled by his parliament, *Head of the Church of England*; and to shew his supremacy, appointed Thomas Cromwell one of his ministers of state, his *vicar general* in ecclesiastical affairs, and *visitor general* of the cloisters; by virtue of which offices he had not only an inspection over all the abbeys and cloisters, but the whole Clergy in ecclesiastical matters, in England, were subject to him; so that though the Archbishop of Canterbury preceded him in other respects, he, as the king's vicegerent, *took place of the Archbishop*; as may be seen at large in Burnet's History of the Reformation, tom. I. p. 172. 181. 213.

XI. Since, therefore, it sufficiently appears, from what has been produced, that Christian sovereigns have made use of their ministers of state as *occasional and temporary* directors of ecclesiastical matters, there is no doubt but they may likewise constitute them *perpetual directors* of the same affairs, since the above-mentioned vicegerent in England, held that office to his death. And now, to come to ourselves: if it shall please his Majesty, our gracious Sovereign, to intro-

duce Episcopacy, the office of director of ecclesiastical affairs may not only remain as it was before, but must necessarily do so for the following reasons. 1st. Since the bishops with us will have as little right to immediately address themselves to his Majesty, as authority to give any thing directly into chancery. 2dly. Since complaints, appeals, and other ecclesiastical causes, from the several provinces, must, of necessity, be brought before his Majesty. And, 3dly. Since it will be necessary, in this new establishment, that a superior Ephorus be appointed, who, in his Majesty's name, may take care that every bishop does the duty of his office.

Thus, then, will the office of director of ecclesiastical affairs remain, after Episcopacy is produced, only with this difference, that it will then be of greater splendour and dignity. We shall except, however, some few points, which 'twould be proper to leave to the care of the bishops in their several provinces, as shall presently be shewn:

XII. We come now to the bishops themselves, and their character and function; before we define which, 'twill be necessary to say something to that question, whether these bishops should have the inspection only over the *Reformed* Churches of their diocese, or over the *Lutherans* also. For my part I believe the Lutherans themselves would in most places be very well satisfied with it: however, 'twould be more safe at first to let it be only over the *Reformed*. And, upon this footing, I consider the thing at present: the rest will follow in course from the designed union of the Protestant Churches.

XIII. Now the function and jurisdiction of a bishop, in each province, consists in the following things.

In general.

To have the inspection of the Churches and Clergy of his diocese, and to exercise that jurisdiction according to certain instructions and *rules prescribed to him*. That he be tied to no special care of souls in any particular congregation, but have his liberty to preach in this or that Church, as he shall see fit.

1st. In particular he is obliged to take care of the *examination* of candidates for the ministry, and to ordain proper persons to it.

2dly. To hold frequent *visitations* of his Churches in person; or, in case of necessity, by a deputy: and to take care of all things that belong to them.

3dly. He must have power with respect to the ministers' doctrine, as well as their manner: when any thing disorderly appears, which does not properly belong *ad jurisdictionem contentiosam*, to cite the minister before him, to give him fraternal admonition, and if circumstances so require, to suspend him from the actual exercise of his office, till his Majesty be informed of it, and his royal resolutions known.

4thly. The ordering and disposal of the lower offices of the Church, such as singers, organists, sextons, and the determining their differences, do, in justice, and for edification sake, naturally belong to the bishops, saving always the power of appealing to his Majesty, if any of them think themselves wronged.

5thly. When any corrupt member is, in the judgment of the ministry, to be separated from the Church by excluding him from the holy communion, the minister shall *first communicate it to the bishop*, and not proceed to the execution of the sentence without his approbation. But in this the bishop must use a great

deal of Christian prudence, or expect that complaint should be made of him to his Majesty.

6thly. When any disputes and offences arise between the members of a Church, especially such as are usually heard by the Consistory, the bishop must have power to call such persons before him, and endeavour to compose matters for the best.

7th. He shall have *an inspection over the schools*, and take care they are kept in good order.

8th. *The royal orders must be directed to the bishop, and by him intimated to the rest of the ministers of the diocese.*

9th. And forasmuch as all these functions are those of the *general superintendants* by whom they are at this time exercised; that the Episcopal dignity may have some reverence and authority, 'twould be but just that every bishop in his province should be *president* of the Consistory; this city of the king's residence only excepted; where the *chief director of ecclesiastical affairs*, when of the Consistory, (which yet is not so constant but that it has sometimes been otherwise), may remain president, and the bishop vice-president. This presidentship may be granted without the least danger. 1st. Because the divines, when they know they may come to be employed in those matters, would apply themselves to the canon law, and the method of consistorial proceedings. 2dly. Because scarce any but old, experienced men, who have been members of Consistories, *would be chosen to be bishops*. 3dly. Though the president gathers the voices, yet the resolution depends not upon him, but the plurality of voices. And 4thly. The sentence is always *formed* by some secular member of the Consistory.

XIV. Upon all these branches of the Episcopal function, a body of ecclesiastical constitutions and laws of Church Government, must be formed with mature judgment, and such standing rules prescribed, as every one shall be obliged strictly to follow.

XV. An Episcopacy regulated after this manner, can be of no prejudice to the sovereign, since his rights are not in the least infringed, but rather established and strengthened by it; and the bishops entirely and in all things depend upon him. Neither will it offend the people, when they are once taught—1st. That all Christians, down from the Apostles, have constantly had bishops. 2dly. That even now, not only all other Christians, but all other Protestants than Prussians who have kingly government, as England, Sweden, Denmark, have still retained them. 3dly. *That those who laid this order aside, were willing that it should be again restored, when it was purged from all its abuses.* 4thly. That no German communion does disapprove of *general Superintendants*; and our bishops will be in effect *nothing else*: and if that one point of their being made *presidents of the Consistories*, be thought so great a matter, it may be remembered that the general superintendant of this electorate, formerly preceded in rank the president of the Consistory, as may be seen in the instruments of those times. 5thly. That the dignity of a bishop regards only his person; that his wife can pretend to no rank but what other people's civility is pleased to give her; and his children no other than what their own merit may procure them.

7th May, 1711.

No. XV.

Admodum Reverende Vir,

Utrasque tuas die 19 et 27 Januarii scriptas eodem die 31 Januarii accepi, quæ uti pondere suo me perculerunt sic suavitate suâ a bonæ spei augurio erexerunt mirifice.

Imprinius vero grandem illam Reverendissimi nostri Præsulis * animam pectusque Apostolicum admiratus sum qui Britanniæ Europæque fata humeris suis bajulans de nostris tamen rebus ita est sollicitus quasi hoc unicum curandum ipsi incumberet. Prioribus sane gestis alios, novissimis seipsum superare visus est. Me profecto sanctus ille præsul plane in ruborem dedit, cumque hactenus aliquid pro publico tentasse mihi viderer nunc demum meam mihi ignaviam socordiamque exprobrare didici; tantoque exemplo inflammatus humili in spherâ mea et ipse moveri, magnaue vestigia pro modulo tenuitatis meæ alacrius legere percipio.

Sed mihi de rebus magnis breviter et succincte scribendum erit.

1. Quæris ex me quid illud sit quad in gratiam Nostri Augusta Regina et Ecclesia Anglicana facere queat?

Verbo dicam, hoc unum, vel certe precipuum ut Legatum ad aulam nostram mittat talem qui et ipse pius sit ecclesiæque amans, et iis animi dotibus præditus ut amorem ordinis hierarchiæ et liturgiæ ipsi Regi et ministris indirecte et quasi aliud agendo in-

* Episc. Bristol.

spirare queat. Scripsi eâ de re ad Reverendissimum Archi-Præsulem Eboracensem die 28 Aprilis anni præteriti, prolixèque oravi ut talis nobis destinetur legatus, qui *prudentiæ civili ecclesiasticam junctam habeat*, &c. Tu venerande vir qui res nostras geniumque aulæ intimè perspecta habes facile mihi assentieris. Talis vero Legatus si providâ Reverendissimi Præsulis Bristolensis curâ nobis obtigerit, dimidium facti nos habere existimabimus. Is enim sanctæ regis nostri intentioni pie obstetricabitur, et dubios vaccillantesque rei novitate animos prudenter confirmabit. Tum vero toto negotio pondus maximum accedit si vel *legati litteris credentialibus quædam de liturgiâ inserantur*, vel Regina singulari epistolâ Regem compellet eo modo quem tu in epistolâ tuâ prudenter præscripsisti. De liturgiâ inquam, non de hierarchiâ ecclesiasticâ: ejus enim mentionem ore turtius quam scripto fieri posse autumo.

2d. Quæ de liturgiâ Anglicana auspiciati legati Britannici lingua nostra hic habendâ memoras, optime se habent. Et quemadmodum Rex eum in usum Legato Templum lubens addicet, ita totam istam rem honori ecclesiæ Anglicanæ, maximæque nostræ ædificationi fore planè confido. *Wilkinsium* vero ei Spartæ peridoneum esse arbitror, possetque ipse saltem ad tempus, et ne res ipsius in Britannîâ detrimentum inde caperent Legatum comitari.

3d. Metuere videris ne forte in gratiam nostri aliquid in ordine vel ritibus vestris immutari desideramus. Et conjicio quidem *unde hæc vobis nata sit suspicio*; simul tamen certiozem re reddo tale quid vel Regi vel Ministris vel ipsi clero nostro nunquam in mentem venisse. Si enim omnia et singula vestra amplecti nostrarum rerum ratio haud forte pateretur, id tamen

certum firmumque stabit nunquam nos commissuros ut vestra mutari cupiamus. Nisi forte (quod non nullis theologorum Brittannicorum placuisse memini) ad lucrificandos Non-Conformistas vestros; plenamque cum ipsis unionem procurandam illud fiat; quod tamen nos ceu extra sphæram nostram positum *tempori et prudentiæ vestræ* in solidum relinquimus.

4th. Quæ de Halesianis prolixè disseris hic repetere supervacaneum esset. Tu modo istum negotium ab altero illo de quo primo loco dixi distinguere memineris. Etenim prius illud particulare est, solam ecclesiam Marchicam seu Prussicam, ejusque liturgiam et regimen tangens. Halesianum vero generalius, ad totam Germaniam, immò ad Poloniam, Silesiam, Hungariam, necnon ad utramque Protestantium partem, *Lutheranam et Reformatam* sese erat extensurum. Quia enim vir ille incomparabilis pro suo quo in res ecclesiæ flagrabat zelo, multorum annorum itineribus, exquisitam status et gravaminum omnium fere totius Europæ ecclesiarum Protestantium notitiam sibi comparaverat, earumque emolumento totum se consecraverat, si Augustæ Brittannicarum Reginae autoritate fuisset munitus plurima in commune ecclesiarum bonum præstare potuisset. Præterquam enim quod ipsius opera ipsum forte negotium liturgicum et hierarchicum principaliter quidem per Legatum tractandum quandantenus adjuvari potuisset, primario tamen. (1) Negotium *Irenicum* in Germania resuscitari, Statibus Imperii commendari et efficaciter promoveri potuisset: eique rei Britannia Regina non ut pars sed ut mediatrix sese ingessisset. (2) Postquam Legati Brittannici ope res liturgica et hierarchica in Prussiae Regno optatum eventum sortita fuisset, opera *Halesii*, alii in imperio

status, ipsique Cantones *Helvetici* in aliqualem ejus rei societatem potuissent invitari. Suppono enim, *agentem illum ecclesiasticum* non *Berolini* sed in aliquo Imperii medietullo, (e. g. Cassellis, Francofurti ad Mœnum, &c.) residere debere unde facilis ipsi ad omnes imperii partes, et ad vicinas quoque nationes, pro re natâ, excursus pateret. (3) Gravamina Protestantium in Poloniâ, Silesiâ, Hungariâ, &c. ad Halesium, perque hunc ad Augustam Reginam deferrentur. Memorabile vero est Dominum Baronem de *Lintelo* cum istud Reginæ Consilium primum audivisset pollicitum esse sese apud ordines *Fœd. Belgic.* effecturum ut vel ipsorum nomine similis rerum ecclesiasticarum *Agens* constitueretur vel eadem res nomine D. D. Ordinum ipsi Domino Halesio tractanda committeretur: quo ipso in Protestantes harmonia fundaretur et Domini Halesii axiomati pondus haud exiguum accederet. (4) Cumque præsentis pacis generalis tractatui plurima ad religionem spectantia jure inserenda essent, Halesius ista undique colligere, digerere, et D. D. plenipotentariis præparare posset, ne rerum minutarum et numerosarum congeries *nimum ipsi esset molesta*. Ex iis quæ dixi, et quæ præterea addi possent, facile intelligis, Vir Reverende, rem utilem et Ecclesiis cis-marinis salutarem nos optasse; eam tamen gratiosæ Numinis Providentiæ piè commendantes, hoc saltem precamur, ut missio Legati idonei ad aulam nostram maturetur. (5) Plenipotentiarorum Prussicorum primus *Comes Douhoffuis* vir est magnanimus, candidus, pius, et voluntatis bonæ plenissimus: addo tamen militem esse, et qui res ecclesiasticas, (præter ea quæ ad cultum numinis consuetum, et exercitia pietatis faciunt) parum animo versavit. Perutile vero esset, si isti viro idea

quædam et amor hierarchiæ et liturgiæ imprimi posset. (6) Quod tenuitatis meæ presentiam *Ultracti* non ingratum fore ais, id gratiæ Reverendissimi Præsulis, tuæque V. A. humanitati acceptum fero. Nosti enim animum meum, me si publico tantillum prodesse queam, iter non ad Belgas solum, sed ad ultimos usque Garamantas prompto animo suscepturum esse. Neque de consensu Regis mei dubito, dummodo, de re ipsâ, deque mente Reverendissimi Patris porro, constet.

Berolini, 6 Feb. 1712.

No. XVI.

Illustrissime, &c. &c.

Patere ut in conspectum tuum mea pietas prodeat, Pater Reverendissime, Vestrisque a quibus jam libertas Europæ, salus ecclesiæ, spes posteritatis dependet consiliis, Gratiam Dei directionemque S. Spiritus ardentè apprecetur.

Votis, gratias jungo humillimas pro eo in ecclesiam Prussicam beneficio quod illustrem *Bretonium* Augusta Britannicæ Regina Legatum ad aulam nostram mittere voluerit. Vir enim iste quamvis militiæ nomen dedit, ecclesiæ tamen amantem, et de rebus ecclesiæ sollicitum se probat. Et potuit ipsius operâ in bonum ecclesiæ nostræ jam nonnihil effectum fuisse, nisi præsens Europæ revolutio quæ ita res civiles miscet, ut ecclesiasticas pariter afficiat conatibus ejusmodi remoram fecisset. Ita enim cordatior quisque stupet, et curâ præsentium objectâ, anxiam in futurum expectationem intendit.

Guadeo tamen Dominum Legatum propinqui adventûs *Wilkinsii* spem nobis fecisse, sacellani munere

apud se impleturi. Etenim si votis locus fuisset, omnibus aliis huc mittendis, Reverendum *Ayerstium* præoptassem ceu rebus nostris utilissimum; prudenti enim conversatione Germanos æque ac Gallos ita sibi obstrinxerat, ut propter hunc quem norant, ipsam quam norant, ecclesiam Anglicanam diligerent et venerarentur. Quia vero virtutem ejus in illustriore theatro apparere Serenissima Regina voluit, fortassis in ipsam patriam ad præmia meritissima capienda eundem prope diem revocatura, *Wilkinsii* viri optimi præsentiam illam nobis jacturam utcunque pensabit, et *Wilkinsius* quæ *Ayerstius* seminavit metere inque labores ejus comode introire poterit.

Interim liturgia *Neocomensis* et *Genevensis Londini* impressæ ad nos delata est, quam amici bene multi privatim secum communicatam in linguam *Germanicam* transferri suadent. Ea res, ubi Reverendissimo Domino Episcopo, (qui ob defectum valetudinis librum nondum videt), probata fuerit, ut ocissime executioni detur faxo.

Ne vero tempus hactenus elapsum publico ecclesiæ bono prorsus esset sterile, id nobis Divina bonitas indulxit, ut consilia de Alumnis Regiis in Angliâ alendis, ecclesiæque Prussicæ Ministris sic præparandis, pridem agitata, nunc tandem effectum sortita sunt. Legibus Foundationis conscriptis, et redditibus necessariis eidem assignatis, ita quidem ut sperem primitias hujus foundationis quo tempore Reverendissima vestra Paternitas adhuc *Londini* morabitur in Angliam appulsum, venerandisque ejus poplitibus advolutum iri,

Vale Reverendissime. &c. &c.

DAN. ERN. JABLONSKI.

No. XVII.

Illustrissime, &c. &c.

Præmisso ardenti pro illibatâ Reverendissimæ vestræ Paternitatis incolumitate voto, postquam a Domino Chamberlayn accepi editionem Martyrologii *Brayani* aliqualem moram pati; officii mei esse duxi Reverendissimæ et Illustrissimæ vestræ Paternitati significare hoc ipso spatium mihi concessum esse, materiem, unde Martyrologium Polonicum exurgat congerendi. Et quidem in Historia ab initio Reformationis ad an. 1650, contendâ jam occupor; sed ad ea quæ dictum annum excipiunt tempora persecuenda, cum subsidiorum impressorum prostet nihil, ea operosius veniunt conquirenda. Quia vero ad initium Septembris nova synodus generalis indicta est, ad quam ex omnibus Regni Poloniae partibus Theologi confluent, primarios illorum rogavi ut ex suo quisque tractu symbolas conferant, post a me in ordinem redigendas; adeoque historiolum universam proximo autumnò. B. C. D. ad prælum paratam fore confido.

Quantam Ecclesia Prussica morte *Friderici* gloriosæ memoriæ Regis, pii et munifici, cladem passa sit Reverendissimæ vestræ Paternitati ignotum esse haud potest. Solatii tamen loco inter alia illud quoque est, quod Serenissimus Successor paternam *de alumnis in Anglia alendis* affectam foundationem gratiosè confirmavit. Quam primum igitur de illis in Angliam mittendis certi quid constitutum fuerit, quod proxima æstate fore spero, leges ejus foundationis ad Reverendissimum Dominum Ayerst, mittam, ut, si ea res tanti videatur, in

linguam Anglicanam eas transferre Reverendissimæque vestræ Paternitati offerre possit. Quod superest Reverendissime et Illustrissime Archi-Præsul *pacem universalem Britannorum cum primis operâ*, Occidenti nostro illucescentem, Reverendissimæ vestræ Paternitati humilime gratulor, atque eadem in Nominis Divini gloriam et Ecclesiæ Evangelicæ (Anglicanæ cum primis) emolumentum cedat ardentissime precor; Reverendissimæ et Illustrissimæ Paternitatis vestræ Domini mei gratiosissimi,

Servus humillimus et filius obedientissimus,

DANIEL ERN. JABLousKI.

Berolini, d. 22. Apr. 1713.

No. XVIII.

Vol. V.

Numb. 22.

The Examiner, from Monday, February 8, to Friday, February 12, 1713.

Sunt alii simplices et aperti, qui nihil ex occulto, nihil ex insidiis, agendum putant, veritatis cultores, fraudis inimici.—CICERO.

People are so entirely taken up with false reports and idle rumours, and pay so much regard and attention to imaginary evils and disasters, that a real solid loss does not affect them in the manner it ought, nor make those lasting impressions on their minds which the nature of the calamity requires. When good and great men are taken away from *the evil to come*, and removed out of a world full of confusion and disorder,

and almost reduced to atoms by the feuds and contentions that reign in it, and as often in danger of being set on fire before its time by those violent heats and frequent eruptions which continually infest it; there is no doubt but death, in that shape, to wise and holy persons, mature in years and virtues, comes in all the appearance of a welcome messenger, and bestows a favour from the Almighty, by calling up a faithful servant to higher and more durable honours, and to a place nearer himself. But to us, who are left behind, to a degenerate age, thinly set with shining lights and unblemished examples to a Church and nation surrounded with a boisterous sea, and agitated with continual storms and tempests, such a loss is a curse and a punishment, and as much to be lamented as the loss of a skilful pilot in a dangerous passage, or of a faithful experienced guide upon a difficult and perilous journey. Reflections of this nature, however disagreeable to our choice, which would rather fix upon more entertaining objects, cannot possibly be avoided, at the arrival of such melancholy news, as sensibly damped the joys of the last week, I mean the death of a great and excellent *Primate* of our Church, the most Reverend Father in God, Dr. *John Sharp*, Lord *Archbishop of York*, who for many years was an ornament to the Reformed religion, and a public blessing to his country.

One cannot be too early in doing justice to the character of this incomparable *Prelate*; and in distinguishing the *Saint*, whilst his memory is fresh amongst us. Because it is impossible to say any good of him, which mankind will not readily attest. He had all the treasures of ancient and modern learning, which were ne-

cessary to render him a perfect master of divinity in its two main branches, *preaching* and *controversy*. He thought, and spoke, and wrote with inimitable clearness: his expressions were a covering for the truths of Christianity, like crystal, solid, durable, and transparent. In his person and behaviour in the Church and the Senate, at his table and in his retirements, he gave all the natural unaffected proofs of primitive uprightness and integrity. But to the honest plainness and simplicity of the *Cyprianic age*, he added all those refined graces and improvements of modern erudition, which others assume, to gain applause for themselves, and which *my Lord of York* wholly employed in the propagation of truth and the service of religion. Nothing mean or trifling, sour or ill-natured, ever came from him, scarce from any body else in his presence. He was far from being of a retired monastic temper, but had all that well-grounded cheerfulness, that decent affability and humanity which struck a lustre upon all his other virtues, and made the imitation of him infinitely desirable and pleasing. As *His Grace* was the delight of all mankind, so all mankind were his delight. His charity and bounty were large and extensive, and reached not only to whatever objects came in his way, but to all that he could find, by an industry free from ostentation, and that plainly shewed his own want of opportunities to do good was as great as that of others to receive it. He had a public spirit, immensely large and perfectly sincere, and a greatness of soul, sufficient to adorn the highest birth, and to proclaim the advantageous difference between the *Roman* and *Christian* honour and nobility. His generosity extended even to the relicts and descendants of good and worthy men;

and became the happy instrument of Providence in rewarding the posterity of religious and loyal ancestors. His continual exercise of this virtue vastly exceeded the intentional devotion of a thousand posthumous charities. He was accessible, complaisant, and courteous to a surprising degree; and his good nature made no difference in habits, fortunes, stations, and degrees. Pity and compassion seemed to be a part of his nature, and flowed directly from his heart. He might rather be said not to know what resentment was, than to stifle and suppress it. No man of a more forgiving temper, less acquainted with injuries, or better able to bear them. Amidst all our party piques and contentions, I do not remember any one single creature so wretched and abandoned as to deserve being called an enemy to *my Lord of York*, though even that inquiry might easily be pardoned, because of the title it had to his constant and efficacious prayers. He perfectly understood the meaning and measures of *moderation*, and left the world without excuse for quarrelling about the word, when they saw it so fully explained in *His Grace's* life and conversation. All the relations of life stood constantly before him in the clearest light; and the several duties annexed to them shewed themselves in the highest beauty and fairest order, as they bore an exact proportion and resemblance to his practice. He endeavoured to make all who were born of him, placed under him, or known to him, more worthy of that benefit, by being more serviceable to the Church and State. Few men rise as he did, by those virtues of lowliness and submission, which, in a corrupt age, seem rather to have a tendency another way; and these he had fully learned and exercised long before he merited to have

no other superior but *God* and the *Queen*. There are many, who will value the hereditary honours they enjoy, and study to improve them, from the advantage they thereby had of being conversant with this incomparable prelate; who never contracted a friendship, without enlarging those virtues upon which it was at first founded. He was just, equitable, and impartially good, to such a degree, that if the world does but use him, as he treated all mankind, there will be no occasion to say that he was one of the best men living. His temperance was so great and exemplary, that his senses and bodily appetites bore no proportion to those of his mind; to that spiritual sensation, which was perpetually searching after the purest objects, and never could be satisfied, but in that blessed state, whether he is now removed. His understanding and conscience were two great luminaries, moving together by unalterable concert; as remarkable for their purity and lustre, as for the order and steadiness of their courses. He loved truth, not with the vain curiosity and uncertain distrust of one who searches after it, but with all the delight and complacency of the happy wise man, who has found and long enjoyed it. His word and promise were esteemed equivalent to the firmest securities. His veracity so free from blemish, and so fully attested by common consent, that it is become a sin to praise him, but upon the fullest knowledge and the clearest grounds. However, his boundless candour is at least a reason why his name, which is all that remains of him, should have justice done it; and when interest is no more, it would be equally criminal, not to proclaim that of him which the departed saint cannot

now hear ; and which all who are left behind him, will hear with pleasure, and unanimously justify.

In his family every thing was managed with such admirable regularity, as if all his care and wisdom had been confined to that sphere only. His retirements were divided between study and devotion. At his table there was that decent freedom and alacrity, that hospitable abundance and plenty, which became the dignity of his station and character, and the liberality of his disposition. *Had Wolsey* been to dictate splendour to him, still his conversation must have been the best part of the entertainment. He redoubled the esteem and veneration of others for him, by aiming only at their love, and lost nothing of the *Archbishop* in the *very good neighbour* and obliging *friend*. The charity which flowed from his table to his gate, was extremely magnified by the manner of bestowing it: it reached to the souls as well as bodies of the poor, and naturally led them to a grateful remembrance of their Maker, when they saw so lively an image of him in one of his most faithful stewards. His delight in private charities could not be well concealed; but the measures of his bounty in that way, are a secret, only known to Him who shall one day reward them openly. In his Chapel and devotions he was so intent, and abstracted from the world, that the duty looked more like pleasure and enjoyment: and such an unaffected humility and holy ardour accompanied his daily offering of our most *Excellent Liturgy*, that it sensibly diffused itself through all who had the advantage of praying with him.

In his *province* and *diocese* he acted with all wholesome but gentle authority, which became the spiritual

father of the Clergy and laity. He so far united these *two Orders* in affection and love for each other, which their first institution plainly tended to promote, that they often joined together to give public marks of their high esteem and veneration for him, and of the irresistible force and influence which his example had upon them, to compel them to love and unity. He was constant in his *residence*, regular in his *visitations*; and, by his steady and uniform adherence to the rules and ordinances of the Church, accompanied with a true Christian humility and gentleness, he regained all that authority and regard for the *Episcopal* function, which is one of the distinguishing marks of the primitive purity of religion. No man had a more tender concern for the *Reformed interest* abroad, nor more careful to preserve the beauty and order of the *Church of England*, that it might be a *standing pattern* for all other *Protestants*. That discipline, whose decay he often lamented, and tried, in some measure, to restore, appeared truly reforming and medicinal under his government; and wherever the *canon* was invalid, the ends of it were answered by the force of his example. As his *province* made a noble *barrier* against *Presbytery*, so it was much for the honour and interest of the *Church*, that such a *Primate* was placed in it, who, in the person of a *single Archbishop*, could shew the *bordering Schismatics* more *Christian virtues* than ever yet met together in a whole *Class or Assembly of Presbyters*.

In the *Senate* his opinion and judgment were of the greatest weight, and his veracity and sincerity had never been called in question. He spake with all imaginable clearness and solidity upon the most important subjects, and very seldom or ever entered into any debates

which turned altogether upon private pique or interest ; but he saw at once through the merits and tendency of every cause which any ways affected the constitution in Church and State, of which he was a consummate judge, and an unalterable friend to both. Here he always exerted himself, and discharged his conscience with regard as well to his country, as to that sacred trust reposed in him ; in such a manner, that he was always consistent with himself, and sure to have *God* and the *Queen* of his party.

His *Works* will be ever admired as the standard of good preaching, so long as the *English* tongue and *Protestant* Religion remain in any degree of purity and perfection. His *Readers* have it not in their power to wish for any addition to the holy entertainment that is before them, unless it were the graces of his elocution and delivery. The important subjects of which he has treated, are so justly and clearly stated, in so fine a style, so exact a method, and with such strength and energy of reason, that, whoever comes after him, must be content to have his quotations esteemed by far the best part of the performance. And so true and lively a spirit of religion runs through all his discourses, that they seem to be as much the dictates of his practice as of his understanding.

For the honour of the *British court* I can say, that since a late unhappy reign, there are few years in which he was not in high trust and favour. Whatever factions, whatever arts or corruptions may prevail, eminent examples of loyalty and piety will naturally attract the notice of a state that is not over fond of its own ruin ; and even the envy raised against those virtues, must serve to distinguish them. I cannot come into

their opinion, who will not allow my Lord of York to be a very great politician, till I first see it made out, that an abhorrence of *all chicane* and artifice, a steadiness in principle, and a consistency in behaviour, are direct folly and mismanagement. It is certain he made a great party for the Church, by his unshaken constancy and exemplary integrity; and because every one who knew his principles, knew the man, therefore he was the less liable to be deceived in his friends, when both he and they, and the common cause, went together.

He had the advantageous misfortune of presiding in the Church for many years of trouble and disorder, in which time he had frequent opportunities of giving proofs of his unshaken zeal and integrity, whenever any innovations were attempted against *Religion in general*, or the *Church of England* and his own *Order* in particular. He was not satisfied with a tame bewailing of these attempts, but undauntedly placed himself in the gap, and opposed them with a true *Christian* bravery and resolution. He often saw the Church beset with enemies, both from within and without; and though not openly persecuted, yet violently opposed and discouraged, and the most inveterate enmity to her made a mark of honour, and a sure title to reward. At last he saw her deserted even by her once most zealous friends, and to whom he had many personal obligations; and yet he remained the same steady, unalterable lover of the *Church of England*, and accompanied her through all her distresses, till she was happily restored to a state of honour and safety. His conduct before the *Revolution*, shewed him to be a strenuous opposer of the idolatry and corruptions of

the *Church of Rome*; and his behaviour, both at and after the *Revolution*, made it apparent, how just a sense he had of that deliverance, when he promoted every thing which tended to the restoration and establishment of the constitution, that had before been lessened and invaded, and as bravely opposed every thing that tended to a further change and alteration in our laws and religion, which were afterwards attempted by another sort of tyranny. They who insist altogether on *His Grace's* conduct at this juncture, would do well to imitate him in all the other parts of his life; and then we should have fewer enemies to the *Church*, and less trouble and disorder in the *State*.

APPENDIX THIRD.



ADDENDA.

LETTERS OF GRANVILLE SHARP AND OTHERS,

WITH

Brief Notices & Monumental Inscriptions

OF

THE FAMILY OF SHARP,

COLLECTED BY THE EDITOR.

APPENDIX THIRD.

*Extract of a Letter from Granville Sharp to Doctor
John Sharp.*

London, 9th April, 1763.

Dear Brother,

P. S. It may perhaps be uncertain how long my grandfather's life will be in preparing for the press, therefore we shall be very glad if you can spare the book for a short time, as there is so good an opportunity of sending it up with the other papers; we will send it down again the very first opportunity. I apprehend it will not take up above a week to read it.

I was asked several questions by a gentleman the other day concerning my grandfather, which I could not answer, upon which he seemed greatly surprised that I should know so little concerning him.

London, 7th April, 1764.

Dear Brother,

Mr. Gregory, (the Prussian), has had an answer from his brother-in-law at Embden, concerning our

proposal of presenting Dr. Jablonski's Letters, &c. to the king of Prussia. He thinks that will be very acceptable there; but is afraid, that if only a single MS. copy is presented to the King, that it may be laid out of the way, and forgot, as his Majesty is much employed at this time in travelling round his dominions: he therefore advises that a copy, with a dedication in French to the king of Prussia, should be sent to him, which he imagines he can dispose of to some advantage at Leipsig, in order to be printed; and that the money for which the copy is sold to the printer may be applied to any charitable use which you think proper; and that he would present to the king a printed copy handsomely bound.

I told Mr. Gregory that I would consult you first; but I thought myself, that a well-wrote MS. copy would be a handsomer present to the king, and that if such a one was sent, his brother might have a rough copy taken of it before presented, which he might communicate among his friends, or even print, provided that the king should give his consent to it.

If you will write a proper dedication or preamble to the king of Prussia, I will get it translated into good French, as likewise such other parts of the account as are wrote in English. I fancy that the best and cheapest way of having the copy wrote, will be to employ some understrapper of the law in the country to engross it, as my grandfather's life was wrote*.

I think that though the charge of writing should be

* From this understrapper's handy-work a copy was taken for the printer, but the man of law had made infinite havoc of Doctor Jablonski's Latin, which the Editor had to correct without access to view the original letters of Dr. J.—*Editor.*

common expense, yet that the dedication should be wrote in your own name, as being the properest representative of the Archbishop's family.

As a MS. copy must be sent, it will make very little difference in the expense to have it wrote well, that it may be presented instead of a printed copy, as being a greater compliment to the king. But, however, whatever directions you give me concerning this, I will punctually follow, for I only mention my opinion that you may have more matter to form your own upon.

I am,

Dear Brother,

Your sincerely affectionate Brother,

GRANVILLE SHARP.

Excuse haste.

London, 13th Nov. 1761.

Dear Brother,

I shall be glad if you will turn back to a former letter of mine relating to Dr. Jablonski's letters. You will there find, that we need not be at a loss for a method of presenting them to the king of Prussia. Mr. Gregory of Berlin told me, that his brother-in-law, who is a man of great repute in that country for learning, had undertaken to have it properly delivered. I think he also said, that a French translation of the letters should be annexed to each, or that they would be otherwise useless to the king of Prussia; and that it would be proper to prefix a French dedication, with some of the usual compliments on such occasions to the king of Prussia, to make it more acceptable to him. Mr.

Gregory's brother-in-law likewise offered, that if, in order to make this affair more generally known in Prussia, we should choose to have the book published, that he would take care to have it printed properly abroad, and would correct the press; also would deliver the first copy to the king, and *would dispose of the money which he imagined would arise from the sale of it, in any charity that we should approve of.* Now, as a French translation seems necessary, this is a sufficient reason against sending the whole book, which without, would be useless.

I am,

Dear Brother,

Your sincerely affectionate Brother,

GRANVILLE SHARP.

London, 16th August, 1765.

Dear Brother,

As I have received great civilities from the Master of the Temple, (Dr. Sharpe), I ventured (as I thought you would have no objection), to lend him my grandfather's "Life;" which, he told me, he read with the greatest satisfaction: he said, likewise, that the prefixing some short account of my father as the author* of it, would be a great addition to the work. Now, why may not the funeral sermon preached by Dr. Bland, (if you can prevail upon the Doctor to favour us with a copy of it), be very proper for that purpose?

* The Editor could not discover Doctor Bland's Sermon, but has collected such notices as he could find, or the present family could furnish. See the following "Preface," &c.

I thought it a good sermon when I heard it; but as your memory is much better than mine, I shall be glad to know your opinion.

As I have not received your answer to my letters about the promise which I made to Mr. Gregory of Berlin, of an abstract from my grandfather's life, I take it for granted that you have no objection; and therefore, as soon as Mr. Lodge, (who is now reading the books), has done with them, I intend to employ a person to translate all that relates to the Prussian church, into good and elegant French, (as Mr. Gregory's brother-in-law advised), and send him a copy of the same, well wrote, and richly bound, to be presented to the king of Prussia.

I am,

Dear Brother,

Your sincerely affectionate Brother,

GRANVILLE SHARP.

London, 19th Dec. 1765.

Dear Brother,

I hope you will excuse my long silence; for indeed it has not been owing to any remissness: but as the cobbler's wife is worst shod, (they say), so am I spoiled for a private correspondent, since letter-writing became my profession.

Inclosed I send you a copy of what I have drawn up by way of preface to the extract from my grandfather's life, relating to the Prussian church*. Whatever it may

* See the subjoined Preface, the title pages, in French as published by the Rev. Mr. Muysson, and in English by Granville Sharp.—*Editor.*

want in point of elegance, I hope the French translator will supply; for my friend, Mr. Chalie, has recommended to me a very good one, who is a French clergyman of the Church of England.

Dr. Sharpe approves of my preface, and has promised to assist me in drawing up a short dedication to the king of Prussia; but as, from your better acquaintance with my father's writings and other affairs, you are undoubtedly the best judge of what may be superfluous or wanting in the said preface, I beg you will acquaint me with whatever corrections you may think necessary.

Mr. Chalie assures me that I may depend upon the honour of the French translator, as he is a man of worth and trust, that he will not make any extracts from the book for his own private use.

Pray give my love to my sister, brother Tom, and to little Jemima: I am heartily glad to hear she thrives so well.

I am,

Dear Brother,

Your sincerely affectionate Brother,

GRANVILLE SHARP.

“Relation Des Mesures qui furent prises dans les années 1711, 1712, et 1713, pour introduire La Liturgie Anglicane dans le Roiaume de Prusse, et dans l'Electoral de Hanover.

Eclaircie Par

Des Lettres et autres Pièces Originales

Relatives à ce Projet.

Le tout extrait

D'un Manuscrit qui n'a pas encore été rendu public,
 contenant des Mémoires de la vie du
 Docteur Jean Sharp
 Archevêque d'York
 Traduit de l'Anglois par J. T. Muysson
 Ministre de la Chapelle Françoise du Palais
 de St. James, et de l'Eglise Françoise
 de la Savoie à Londres.

A LONDRES :

Imprimé par W. Richardson et S. Clark dans Fleet-st.

M.DCC.LXVII."

Title to the Book.

An Account of what Steps were taken towards an Introduction of the English Liturgy into the Kingdom of Prussia and Electorate of Hanover, in the Year 1711, 1712, and 1713, illustrated with Authentic Copies of several Original Letters and Papers relating to that laudable Design.

The whole extracted from a Manuscript (never yet published) of the Life of Dr. John Sharp, Archbishop of York.

*Preface to the Reader, (by Granville Sharp.)
 Translated into French by the Rev. Mr. Muysson.*

As the following account of the several steps taken towards an introduction of the English liturgy into the kingdom of Prussia, &c., is copied from the manuscript of the Life of Dr. John Sharp, Archbishop of York, it

will be necessary first of all to acquaint the reader with some particulars concerning the Author of the said MS., as well as concerning that work itself; because on these the authority of this account chiefly depends.

The manuscript above mentioned was compiled by Dr. Thomas Sharp, late Archdeacon of Northumberland and Prebendary of Durham, a person not less remarkable for integrity, piety, and a conscientious discharge of his duty, than his father, the Archbishop, whose life he wrote.

The candour, judgment, and learning of this author are sufficiently shewn, in such of his works as are already printed; and particularly in the Hebrew controversy, wherein he so happily succeeded against the followers of Mr. Hutchinson.

If he was remarkable for his great sagacity and discernment as a critic, he was not less so for his polite, mild, and ingenuous behaviour to all those with whom he differed in opinion; of both which excellent qualities the polemaical writings above mentioned contain sufficient proofs.

The contents of the following pages being entirely ecclesiastical, it may not be improper to observe further concerning the author, that he had a thorough knowledge of ecclesiastical affairs, and that he has left to posterity a lasting monument of the same, in his discourses on the rubrics and canons of the Church of England, so far as they relate to the parochial clergy.

With respect to the present work the author informs us in his original preface, that all matters of fact which are reported therein, are either taken from *the Archbishop's own diary*, or from other evidences of equal authority with it.

It now remains to inform the reader that the grandchildren of Archbishop Sharp (for the instruction of whom the above-mentioned work was compiled, and in whose possession only it now is) have caused this extract to be made from the said work, and translated into the French tongue; not for any private purpose whatever, but merely with a friendly design of communicating to those whom it more particularly concerns, some matters relating to the Prussian church, which they imagine may not now be known in Prussia; because they were brought to light chiefly by means of letters and other original papers preserved in Archbishop Sharp's family; there having been a private correspondence carried on between the Archbishop, and that truly pious and learned man Dr. Jablonski concerning the business herein related.

The author of the above-mentioned manuscript observes in the original preface, that his first design in undertaking the said work was, "that it might prove an instructive lesson to the Archbishop's grandchildren, who it was natural to think, would receive a stronger and more effectual impression of an imitable pattern of piety, when the ideas of it were conveyed in perpetual association with those of the person and character of so near a relation."

In like manner the descendants of the Archbishop are willing to flatter themselves that the same kind of reasoning may serve as their apology for offering the perusal of this extract to the Prussian reader, they having the greatest reason to suppose the relation in respect to country, and the esteem and veneration justly due to the two great encouragers of this noble design, (the one an illustrious Prince, the other Dr. Jablonski

an eminent minister, and approved member of the Prussian church) and that the zeal for God's honour, with the love of decency and uniformity so conspicuous in the former, and the candour, meekness and sincerity of the latter, so becoming a true servant of Jesus Christ, together with the *clear and unanswerable arguments in favour of episcopacy and established liturgies*, set forth in the course of this work cannot fail of making a deep impression on the minds of all good Prussians.

This extract commences with some transactions of Archbishop Sharp which do not at all relate to Prussia, and therefore may require some kind of apology for their insertion here as well as the panegyric on the Archbishop's character, with which the whole is concluded, wherefore it will be necessary to acquaint the reader that the former were inserted for the sake of shewing the Archbishop's brotherly disposition towards foreign Protestants; because a different and *misconceived opinion of them in another English prelate of his own time, was unfortunately the means* of putting a stop to the king of Prussia's laudable design of introducing the English liturgy when it was first proposed; and the latter was thought proper to be added, because it contains a lively character of a truly worthy Protestant divine which must needs be very acceptable to all good Christians, whether in Prussia or elsewhere.

Some few pieces contained in the following pages (viz. Baron Printz's two Letters, and No. 2, 11 and 12 in the Appendix) were originally written in high Dutch, and were translated into English before they were presented to the Archbishop; therefore if this French translation should chance to be compared with the high Dutch copies (if any such are to be found) it is hoped

that the candid reader will excuse the translator, if it should happen, that his versions appear to have lost much of their original spirit and energy; because as they are only *translations of translations*, any deviations from the justness of the author's expressions are more easily to be accounted for, than they were to be avoided.

Note—The Archbishops Tillotson and Tenison were Archbishop Sharp's cotemporary metropolitan Bishops. The former, it is well known, wished that "we were *well* rid (not at any rate) of the Athanasian creed" in our liturgy; of course before foreign Protestants should adopt the use of it: and the latter might be influenced by a suspicion, not only of the orthodox soundness of German Protestants, but that Queen Ann's *bounty* would be expected to precede their reception of the Services of the Church of England. Yet the first King of Prussia seems to have been sincere in his desire for its introduction. As to the "great King," if he valued any thing but military glory, and the French language, and philosophy, (until he found the latter subverting his throne), it was an English loan, not an English liturgy. His present Majesty of Prussia, far wiser, knows that "righteousness exalteth a kingdom," and has spared Notre Dame, and worshipped in Westminster Abbey.—*Editor.*

London, Dec. 12, 1766.

Dear Sir,

So much time has elapsed since I first proposed to send you an extract from the manuscript of my

grandfather's life, (relating to the intended introduction of the English liturgy into Prussia) that I am afraid you will suspect me either of having been very negligent, or of having forgot my promise.

I lost no time in acquainting all my brothers with my intention, their consent being necessary; but as some of them were in doubt whether the whole of the manuscript should not be made public (which would have made this extract unnecessary) and all of them having a great deal of other business which necessarily engrossed their whole attention, much time was lost before I could be informed of their determination. This, as well as the translating the extract into French and a variety of other incidents, have unavoidably prolonged the time more than I could possibly have suspected. However, I have the satisfaction of informing you that the extract is now in the press, in order to have a few copies printed off; as I am advised to send a *printed* rather than a MS. copy, lest the bulky appearance of the latter should be any hindrance to its being read. You told me when I last had the pleasure of seeing you, that your brother-in-law would undertake to present this book to his majesty the King of Prussia; therefore please to make my best respects to that gentleman, and acquaint him, that I shall be extremely obliged to him for his advice in this affair, and beg that he will inform me, whether he thinks a copy ought to be presented to the king *only*, in order to appear as a greater compliment; or (lest his majesty should not have leisure, or not be disposed to read it) whether copies should not also be presented to some others of the royal family, or to some particular persons of the nobility and principal clergy; and if the latter, that he will please to ac-

quaint me, what number of books he thinks will be necessary.

I must beg that you will make your brother-in-law thoroughly to understand, that we have no personal or interested views whatever in offering these presents; but that we are induced thereto by the desire of making known, to those whom it more particularly concerns, a part of history relating to the Prussian church, which does honour *to the memory of Frederick the First, king of Prussia*, and is capable (as we think) of affording both *instruction* and *entertainment* not only to the Prussians in particular, but to *all foreign Protestants in general*. And, further, that we think this publication is in justice due to the character of that *great and learned divine* Dr. Jablonski, for the reason which he himself gives in one of his letters to Archbishop Sharp, viz. “*ut etiam si forte res minus feliciter cederet, prostaret tamen apud vos Testis Veritatis qui nostram de Hierarchiâ Ecclesiasticâ sententiam posteritati testaretur.*”

I must likewise observe that the worthy and learned gentleman (the Rev. Mr. Muysson minister of the royal French chapel at St. James's and of the French church at the Savoy) who translated this extract into French; is no less disinterested than ourselves, though we have mentioned him by name as the translator in the title page of the work: for this he permitted us to do, at our particular request, as we are of opinion that the name of one of the oldest, and most eminent French Protestant ministers now in England will not only be a considerable addition to the authority of the book, but likewise be a means of recommending it to the more favourable perusal of all foreign Protestants, in case

your brother-in-law should think proper to have it reprinted in Prussia as he once proposed.

You will much oblige me by communicating your brother's sentiments on this affair, as soon as you receive his answer, that as little more time may be lost as possible.

I am, with great esteem,

Dear Sir,

Your most obedient,

humble Servant,

GRANVILLE SHARP.

P. S.—Please to direct to me at the Office of Ordnance in the Tower.

———— Gregory, *Esq.*

Dear Sir,

Having been absent for some time, I was not able to answer your very agreeable letter of the 12th Dec. any sooner, as I could not take any advice about the affair in question.

It was a misunderstanding that I ever told you of my brother-in-law being able to speak about the manuscript in question to the king of Prussia, or to present it to him, as it is very difficult for other people, than those that are about him to speak to his majesty of particular affairs. I consulted since my return, which was but a few days ago, some friends of my acquaintance, whether it would be better to present a copy of the Latin manuscript, or of the printed French translation, to his majesty, who advised me to write to you to send

some of the French printed exemplars, as the *king prefers the French language to any other*, by which means his majesty might be induced to read it the sooner. As I know the Marquis D'Argens who is a great favourite to his master, I'll desire him to present it to the king, which I don't doubt will succeed to your expectation, at the same time I'll not fail to mention your *disinterestedness in this affair*, of which I am evidently assured. It would not be amiss to make a present of a few exemplars to the principal clergy, and to some relations of the deceased Dr. Jablonski, if you will please to send me six or eight of them, I'll take with the greatest pleasure upon me to distribute them to the properest persons, and as I shall remain in Berlin, I will be able to answer you the sooner, and acquaint you of the success.

I beg of you to present my humble respects to all your worthy family, and to be assured that I am with the greatest esteem,

Dear Sir,

Your very humble,

and most obedient Servant,

CHRISTIAN FRED. GREGORY.

Berlin, June 6, 1767.

Dated about the middle of August, 1767.

Dear Sir,

Your obliging letter of the _____ gave me great pleasure, since I received it I have hastened in the completing of the work as much as I possibly could, though many unforeseen incidents have prolonged the time much beyond my expectations. In your letter you have required only six or eight copies, but lest these should not be sufficient I have ventured to send you double that number, and if any more should still be wanting I hope you will not scruple to acquaint me.

I have sent two copies in richer binding than the rest, the one for the Prussian king and the other for the Marquis D' Argens, which I beg you will please to present with the humble respects of this family to that nobleman, as you think he will honour the work so far as to present the first copy to his Prussian majesty. Four other copies I have sent in red binding which I must beg your acceptance of for yourself and friends; and the remaining eight copies are to be disposed of in such manner as you shall think proper, two of the copies are sent unbound lest any particular kind of binding should be thought more proper for his Prussian majesty than what I have sent; and if this should be the case I hope you will get them bound and inform me of the expence that I may pay it into Mr. Meyer's hands to be remitted to you.

The books are packed in a small box, and sent to Mr. Meyers who is so obliging as to undertake the forwarding of them to you, with a proper direction to the care of his correspondent at Hamburgh. They are to be

sent on board the Sarah Elizabeth, Captain Jacob Maslen Schlabohm who sails for Hamburgh in a few days.

As I don't think it proper to give away any of these books to my relations and friends here until I can hear that a copy is presented to his Prussian majesty, for whom it was originally intended, I shall be much obliged if you will give me as early advice of the delivery of it as you conveniently can.

I am, with great esteem,

Dear Sir,

Your most obedient,

and much obliged

humble Servant,

GRANVILLE SHARP.

— Gregory, Esq.

London, 13th Oct. 1767.

Dear Brother,

The Archbishop* is very well aware that the compliment ought first to be paid to the king of Prussia, but he knows that the books were sent a good while ago, (viz. some time about the middle of August), and that they must have been received in Prussia before this time; therefore his Grace was less scrupulous about giving a few copies (with proper cautions), to some particular persons, without wait-

* Thomas Secker, who was succeeded in the following year, 1768, by Dr. Fred. Cornwallis.—*Editor.*

ing for an account of the books being received in Prussia.

One great person in particular my brothers were of opinion should be presented with a copy, before the affair is more generally known; I mean his Majesty. Brother William mentioned this to the Archbishop last week, who approved much of the proposal, and undertook to present one himself; so I sent him a copy elegantly bound in red morocco, for that purpose, and twelve other copies bound in calf, to dispose of hereafter at his own discretion.

My reason for sending so many was expressed in a previous letter to his Grace, a copy of which I here send you.

“ 3d Sept. 1767.

“ My Lord,

I have sent herewith two copies of the extracts from my grandfather's Memoirs, and in a few days (in which time I expect more from the binder's), your Grace may command as many more as you think proper; being the best judge how to dispose of them to the most advantage for the Protestant cause abroad, *for which alone they were intended*. However, lest an account of this affair should by any means reach Berlin before the books already sent are delivered, it may perhaps be a proper compliment to my friend at that place, as well as to the nobleman who has undertaken to present a copy to the King of Prussia, that no other copies be sent out of England, until we can be sure

that the former are delivered; and I will certainly send your Grace an account of this as soon as I receive advice of it."

I am,

Dear Brother,

Your sincerely affectionate Brother,

GRANVILLE SHARP.

Monsieur,

Sa Majesté a reçu le livre que vous lui aviez adressé par le canal de Mr. Gregori. Elle m'a ordonné de vous faire beaucoup de remerciemens de votre attention et de vous en marquer la reconnoissance, je suis flatté d'avoir cette occasion de vous assurer de l'Estime parfaite avec la qu'elle j'ai l'honneur d'être,

Monsieur,

Votre très humble

et très obeissant Serviteur,

DE CATT.

à Berlin, ce 10e. 8bre. 1767.

Mr. Granville Sharp.

Berlin, the 13th of Oct. 1767.

Dear Sir,

According to your kind favour of the 4th of August, I received the copies of your grandfather's life, (though but for a few days), and took the opportunity of the king's being here, for to present it to him by Mr. de Katt, his reader and favourite, the Marquis of D'Argens being sick at Potsdam. By the inclosed letter,

wrote by the order of his Majesty, you will find that he received it very graciously. This letter would have been signed by himself, if you had wrote to him, of which custom I was not apprised of myself before, till Mr. de Catt had told me of it, or else I should not have failed of acquainting you with it. One copy was likewise given to the Crown Prince; the others were distributed to the first clergymen, and to some of the chief relations of the late Jablonski. I am very much obliged to you for the four copies you have been pleased to send to me; but, desirous of promoting the work, I have disposed of them likewise, and so would beg the favour of you to send me two or three more, that I may at least keep one in my library. I am very glad that this circumstance gives me an opportunity of recommending myself to your kind friendship, and to that of your worthy family, wishing I may have an occasion of being further serviceable to you in this country, to maintain an acquaintance which I value so much. If ever I would be so happy to see you again in Old England, I should be overjoyed, for I love your country dearly.

I am, with the highest sense of esteem and consideration,

Dear Sir,

Your most obedient

Humble Servant,

CHRIST. FRED. GREGORY.

Berlin, 19th Oct. 1767.

Dear Sir,

Some time after the books were sent for Prussia, it happened that one of the old proof sheets of the title page was wrapped as waste paper round a little parcel which was sent by my printer to the Rev. Mr. Woyd, a Polish clergyman, who has been in England for some time past, to solicit (I believe) some pecuniary relief for the distressed "Dissident" in Poland. This gentleman was very anxious to see the work, and especially as the title page mentioned Dr. Jablonski, who was a *Polish* Bishop, and much esteemed*.

He immediately went to the Archbishop of Canterbury for further information, but was told by his Grace that the work was entirely unknown to him. However, the Archbishop had as much curiosity as Mr. Woyd, and desired him to make all the enquiries he could concerning it, and to endeavour to procure him a copy. Mr. Woyd then applied to Mr. Muysson, who immediately sent me notice of what had past: wherefore, I thought myself obliged to wait on the Archbishop the next day, to acquaint him with the nature of the work, and the reasons which induced our family to print it; and further, that we had no other views in doing so, than an earnest desire of *servng the Protestant cause abroad*; and his Grace was certainly the best judge how to dispose of the books so as to answer that purpose in the most effectual manner. I requested him to command

* The author of "Thorn Affligée," &c. translated from the German of M. Jablonski into French, by M. C. L. De Beausobre, Amsterdam, chez Pierre Humbert, MDCCXXVI.—*Editor.*

as many copies as he should think proper. He has given one copy to Mr. Woyd, and another to the Rev. Mr. Maclaine, at the Hague, (on account of some work on Ecclesiastical History*, which he is at present employed in); but these, I make no doubt, with proper cautions not to let them go out of their hands till an account is received that the first copy is presented to the king of Prussia. Another copy he has undertaken to present himself to his Majesty, (the king of England); for we thought that this ought no longer to be delayed, lest, by waiting for your answer, the work should in the mean while, by some such sad accident as is above mentioned, become more generally known, and then it would be too late to pay the compliment. The same reason has induced me to forward another copy by means of a friend, to a relation of his in a very considerable post under the Prince of Orange, in order to be presented by him to his Royal Highness. Besides these I shall give no others till I am favoured with your answer. I am informed that a son of Dr. Ursinus, (mentioned in the book), is now a Professor at the University of Francfort, upon the Oder; therefore, I shall be much obliged to you if you will forward one of the books to him when you have an opportunity: I have more copies at your service, if you should want them. I am, with great esteem,

Dear Sir,
Your much obliged

Humble Servant,

G. S.

* The translator of Mosheim's Ecclesiastical History. 2nd. Edit. 1758.

London, 18th Dec. 1767.

Dear Sir,

I am quite ashamed that I should have been so long in returning an answer to your very kind and obliging letter of the 13th October. But I have been so closely engaged, partly with my ordnance business, and partly with a law-suit commenced against me and my brother James*, (for causing a poor negro slave to be set at liberty from a tyrannical master, by the civil magistrate), that I have not really had it in my power till now, to return you the sincere thanks of all our family, for your friendly offices and politeness.

I am honoured with his Prussian Majesty's acknowledgments of the receipt of the book, by Mr. de Catt's polite letter inclosed in your's. About a fortnight ago Mr. Myer was so obliging as to forward a small box directed for you to the care of Messrs. John Daniel Baur and Son, at Hamburgh, on board the William, Captain John Charlton.

It contains ten copies of the extract, one copy on fine paper for your own library, and the rest for your friends, and I should have sent more on fine paper had they not all been disposed of.

I have sent by the same opportunity, *a sermon by my father on the Sacrament*, and two little treatises of my own which I printed this year, one of them on the pronunciation of the English tongue, which I flatter

* James Sharp, wholesale Ironmonger, the father of Catherine, now Mrs. Andrew Sharp, the present owners of the MS. Life. The negro slave was Jonathan Strong. See *Memoirs of Granville Sharp by Prince Hoare*, 1820.

myself will render it more easy to foreigners; and the other, a short introduction to vocal music.

I hope by this time you have received them all safe.

If I can serve you in any business at London you may command me.

I am, with great esteem,

Your much obliged

humble Servant,

GRANVILLE SHARP.

Mr. Christ. Fred. Gregory.

London, March 26, 1768.

Dear Sir,

I received your kind letter of the 12th December, 1767, and would have returned an answer much sooner, had I not been greatly hurried in business all this winter; indeed as I had wrote to you since that date (viz. on the 18th December, 1767, which I hope you have received) I apprehended that an immediate answer was not so necessary as it would otherwise have been. Mr. Mÿsson informs me that the son of Dr. Ursinus, mentioned in your last, goes now by another name, viz. *De Bar*, and has since been created a baron, or some such title of distinction. My brothers and myself have the greatest satisfaction in your information that the extract is so much approved of in Prussia. We should be glad to make any addition to it, that might make it more generally useful, but as it has been presented to his Prussian majesty in its *present form*, we think that an additional translation would come better

from any other quarter than from our family, lest we should seem to interfere too much in a point which does not immediately concern us.

Be pleased to acquaint the noble clergyman (who hinted to you the translating of Dr. Jablonski's letters) with our sentiments on this head. But assure him at the same time, that we have no objection at all to *his* causing such an additional translation to be made if he thinks it proper; or if the learned Prussian clergy in general are of opinion, that the work deserves to be more known in their own country, we cannot possibly have any objection to its being reprinted in Prussia with such additions and comments as they may think necessary to render it more generally useful*.

My brother William has lately printed an account of his method of treating fractured legs, which has been greatly approved both here in England and in France. He hath practised this method many years himself with the greatest success, and therefore thought himself obliged to make it public, as well for the sake of those, who may have the misfortune to want assistance in that way, as on account of some pretenders who have lately claimed the merit of the invention without thoroughly understanding the method. My brother being thoroughly persuaded of your humane disposition, and that you will take pleasure in doing any thing which may contribute to the relief of the distressed, has de-

* It is much to be desired, for the sake of truth and fairness that some candid and well-informed Prussian would account for the failure of the scheme. Meanwhile to Granville Sharp is due the honour of having introduced the English episcopacy into a larger field for its growth—into the states of North America.—*Editor.*

sired me to send you half a dozen of those books, and a complete set of the splints * ; that you may present them to one of the public hospitals or put them into the hands of any gentleman professing surgery, whom you shall think most capable of trying the experiment with success. He has sent splints of three different sizes, both for right and left legs, that there may be no difficulty in fitting the patient's leg. These I have packed in a box, and desired Mr. Meyer to forward the same to you.

I am, with great esteem,

Dear Sir,

Your much obliged,

Humble Servant,

GRANVILLE SHARP.

P. S. Since I wrote the above, my brothers and myself have been honoured with a very polite and obliging message from Dr. Jablonski, who, I believe, is grandson to that worthy gentleman who corresponded with my grandfather. He commissioned the Rev. Mr. Woyd (a Polish clergyman) to acquaint us, *that he has several pieces and original letters relating to the subject of the extract from Archbishop Sharp's Life, which are not included in that work, and which he most generously offered us the use of. But we desired Mr. Woyd to return an answer to the same purpose as that which*

* Every member of this good family will be found walking in the steps of their Divine Master, going about doing good to the bodies or souls of men, men of every colour and of every clime. The Rev. Thomas Sharp, contributed with his brother the Archdeacon to restore Bamborough Castle, of which work see the extracts from Nichols's Literary Anecdotes.

I have given above to your proposal of printing an additional translation; for though we shall think ourselves greatly obliged to that gentleman for copies of those papers for our own satisfaction, and to *enrich the MS. work of Archbishop Sharp's Life*; yet we think it will not become us to make any addition, *as from ourselves* to the work already presented to the king of Prussia. Nevertheless we should be extremely glad to hear that Dr. Jablonski could be prevailed upon to publish a new edition of it himself, with whatever comments and alterations he may think right; especially as he seems to be the properest person to do so, as well with respect to his family and country, as on account of his being furnished with such ample materials for that purpose.

London, Jan. 22, 1768.

Dear Brother,

I delivered a copy of the extract at the bishop* of Durham's myself, but his lordship was not at home.

I have done the same at Northumberland house.

I have had another letter from Mr. Gregory to acquaint me, that the extract is greatly approved of at Berlin among the Prussian clergy. The same accounts from Holland where the clergy eagerly hand them from one to another.

The Prince of Orange ordered his chaplain to return thanks to this family for his copy, which the chaplain did through Mr. Muysson.

Copies have likewise been sent (by desire of Mr.

* Richard Trevor, D.D.

Muysson's friends in Holland) to the Dukes of Wolfenbuttle and Brunswick.

I am,

Dear Brother,

Your sincerely affectionate Brother,

GRANVILLE SHARP.

I long to see you, having more to say, than I have time to write.

London, Jan. 24, 1768.

Dear Brother,

Mr. Woyd, a Polish clergyman called on me yesterday; he is very desirous to have the MS. of my grandfather's Life in order to make a short abstracted account to send to some gentlemen at Berlin, who have undertaken to give an account of the most eminent English prelates, and their writings, for the advancement of learning; as the English commentators are of great repute abroad at present. I would give no answer 'til I had your consent. I apprehended that the intended abstract will be very short, and not such a one as would be likely to lessen the value of the MS. because the work it is intended to be applied to, is of so general a nature that there cannot be room for very circumstantial relations. But if there be any objection to the lending of the MS. I believe we must endeavour to prevail on brother Tom to make an abstract, because it is of some consequence to religion and learning that the archbishop should be properly represented abroad.

Nobody, however, can be more capable than Mr.

Woyd of making a proper abstract, for he is indefatigable, learned, and sensible; is a good character himself; and is well known in the learned world.

I am, (with love to brother Tom, my sisters, and niece Jemima,)

Dear Brother,

Your sincerely affectionate Brother,

GRANVILLE SHARP.

Rev. Dr. Sharp.

London, April 4, 1768.

Rev. Sir,

I am desired by my brothers to return the sincere thanks of this family for your very polite and obliging message delivered by the Rev. Mr. Woyd, who, in your name, offered us the use of some original letters and papers relative to the subject of a correspondence carried on between your grandfather and ours, and which are not included in the account of that affair lately printed by us.

We shall be extremely glad to have copies of these several papers for our own satisfaction, and to enrich the MS. copy of Archbishop Sharp's Life; but not for any other reasons; for we have no view of making any addition to our printed account lately sent to Prussia, because as that has been already presented to the king of Prussia in its *present form*, we think it cannot well become us to make any alteration or addition, lest we should be thought to interfere too much in an affair, which does not immediately concern us.

I am informed by a friend in Berlin, that a *noble clergyman* there has given his opinion, that "if Dr.

Jablonski's letters were translated into French it would enhance the merit of the work to a great degree, as there are many people that don't understand the Latin." To this we returned an answer much to the same effect as what I have mentioned above ; and that we do not think ourselves at liberty to make any addition to it whatsoever ; but have no objection to the desired translation if added by any other persons independent of us. I also acquainted him that if the learned Prussian clergy are in general of opinion that the work deserves to be more known in their own country, we cannot possibly have any objection even to its being reprinted and published, with such additions, alterations, and comments as they may think necessary to render it more generally useful.

I informed my friend at Berlin likewise of the very kind offer with which you have favoured us ; and took the liberty to hint at the same time that if a new edition of that work should really be thought necessary or proper to be made in Prussia, it were much to be wished that you yourself might be prevailed upon to undertake it, being certainly the properest person to do so, as well with respect to your country and *family* *, as on account of your being furnished with such ample materials for that purpose.

I am, with the greatest respect and esteem,

Rev. Sir,

Your most obedient,

and much obliged

humble Servant,

GRANVILLE SHARP.

* This letter is indorsed " to Dr. Jablonski" in the handwriting of Granville Sharp, but has no other external or internal direction thereon.

P. S. My brothers desire your acceptance of a set of my father's work, to which I have taken the liberty to add three little pieces of my own. The whole will be sent to Mr. Woyd in order to be forwarded to you.

London, 7th Jan. 1769.

Dear Brother,

Many thanks for your speedy answer concerning Mr. Woyd's request. The reasons you give *for not lending him* the MS. are very just, and indeed I apprehend that a copy of the "sheet of paper of anecdotes and material occurrences," which you mention, together with a reference to the Biographia Britannica will be quite sufficient for Mr. Woyd's purpose; therefore I shall be much obliged to you if you will transmit a copy of the said paper as soon as you conveniently can. I will mention to my brothers what you say about printing the MS. life; but I apprehend it would by no means answer Mr. Woyd's purpose, to wait so long for his abstract as the time of printing such a book must necessarily take up.

I am, (with affectionate love to my Sisters, Brother Tom, and Jemima),

Dear Brother,

Your sincerely affectionate Brother,

GRANVILLE SHARP.

London, 2d March, 1769.

Dear Brother,

Dr. Jablonski's MSS. at Oxford, if they are not the same as those in the *Extrait*, are certainly very valuable; but we cannot make any use of them by way of addition to that publication. I believe I acquainted you in some former letter, that the present Dr. Jablonski, grandson to Dr. Daniel Ernest Jablonski, has all the papers of his father and grandfather, some of which he offered us the use of.

I wrote him word, that it would not be right for us to make any additions to the *Extrait* concerning the Prussian church, as that book has been already presented to the King of Prussia; and also, that any addition or alteration, in a second edition, will certainly come best from himself, as a second edition seems to be desired in Prussia.

I am,

Dear Brother,

(With love to my Sisters and Niece,)

Your sincerely affectionate Brother,

GRANVILLE SHARP.

Extrait de la Lettre de Mr. Jablonski.

Landsberg le ——— de Fevrier.

Parmi les Papiers de mon Grand-pere je trouve beaucoup de choses qui regardent l'introduction, ou, plutot, l'histoire de l'introduction de la liturgie et de

l'hierarchie Anglicane dans les etats de la Prusse : et par lesquelles la *relation des Mesures* pourroit être confirmée ou completee et, s'il est permis de le dire, en quelques endroits, corrigée.

Selon ces papiers, ce projet d'introduire la liturgie et la hierarchie Anglicane dans notre Pais et dans celui d'Hanover, commença 1698, et son but etoit de preparer, par la, les affaires pour unir les Protestans *in doctrina ut in cultu*. Il etoit occasionné, par une conference entre Molanus, Abbé de Lockum, M. de Leibnitz et le D.D. E. Jablonski, 1698, et par le rapport que le dernier en fit à sa cour ; depuis ce tems-la, on a eu une correspondance touchant ce projet avec les theologiens les plus celebres de l'Eglise Lutherienne, dont plusieurs l'ont approuvé. Parmi les Anglois on a conferé avec Mr. Hales, qui se trouva à Berlin 1704 et après cela avec le Dr. Josias Woodward à Londres. Il me semble que j'ai toute cette correspondance entiere qui est fort interessante. Elle contient aussi la Lettre de l'Eveque Ursinus qu'il ecrivit en envoyant la Liturgie Anglicane traduite en Allemand à l'Archeveque de Cantorbery et la Lettre de ce Prelât à Milord Raby, dans laquelle il dit à ce Ministre que M. de Spanheim l'avoit prié de presenter à la Reine la Liturgie Anglicane traduite en Allemand, avec une Lettre à sa Majesté, et que la Reine avoit répondu : " that the letter was a letter of compliment for which she thanked him, as she did likewise for his book, and that she was very glad he did so much approve of the service of the Church of England. If he (l'Eveque Ursinus, ainsi se finit la Lettre de l'Archeveque) is at Berlin, your lordship may be pleased to acquaint him with this, for I write not as yet to him, having not received any letter from him." Cette

Lettre de l'Archeveque est du 17 Oct. 1704 au lieu que la Lettre d'Ursinus à l'Archeveque n'est que du 2nd Dec. et elle paroît etre occasionnè par celle de l'Archeveque. Je ne trouve point si l'Archeveque y a respondu. De mes Papiers on ne peut pas non plus se persuader si la Raison pourquoi il n'y avoit point de Reponse etoit celle qu' on a alleguée pag. 12 ou si, pour cette raison, le Projèt à notre cour ait été retenû.

L'Affaire de Helmstadt n'arriva que quatre ans après. On en etoit etonnè en Angleterre, surtout l'Archeveque. Mon Grand-pere recût plusieurs Papiers touchant cette affaire, et en ecrivit beaucoup. J'en ai une collection, mais l'affaire de la Liturgie n'y est point touchée.

du 18 de Fevrier.

J'ai enfin trouvè les Paquets où il y a plusieurs Lettres de l'Archeveque de York, le Dr. Sharp, de l'Eveque de Bristol D. J. Robinson, du Dr. Ayerest, Smalridge, My Lord Raby, M. de Bonnet, Mr. Hales, &c. &c. Peut etre que je trouverai aussi quelque chose dans les Lettres de l'Archeveque de Cantorbery (Wake) de Turretin, Osterwald, Zimmerman, Werenfels, Pictet.

Berlin, 13th Aug. 1707.*

'Tis a piece of news from Coningsbergh, the capital of Prussia, and printed here by the king's order, the substance whereof is as follows.

* This seems to have been an extract by Archbishop Sharp from some newspaper of the year 1707. The editor inserts it here, as he found it among the Prussian papers of G. S. A closer union of the German Protestant Churches has lately been effected under the royal sanction and auspices. A holy alliance of all Protestant National Churches is a desideratum and will be urgently demanded hereafter.

They write from Koningberk, that the Calvinic and Lutheran preachers of the King's Hospital Church had *united themselves* in the celebration of the communion, after the following manner. On the 3d of July, the Lutheran minister preaching in the morning, gave notice, that on Sunday next there would be a communion for the Reformed; that is, the Calvinists: accordingly, on the 10th of July, after the reformed minister's sermon, the usual formulary for the Calvinists' communion was read. After the prayer, the Lutheran minister came to the table, the communicants reached the bread from the reformed minister, without communicating himselfe. Both ministers, in delivering the communion, used the words of the reformed churches, viz.

“The bread which we break is the communion of the body of Christ, which was broken on the crosse, for the remission of your sins. The cup is the blessing, by which we blesse, is the communion of the blood of Christ, which was shed on the crosse, for the forgiveness of your sins.”

The reformed preacher had, after his sermon, before the Lutheran people went out of the church, given, in like manner, notice, that on the Sunday following there would be a communion likewise for the Lutherans.

Accordingly, after the Lutheran minister had ended his sermon on the 17th, he went to the table without reading the usual formulary, or exhortation, of the Lutherans, (which I presume, therefore, contains something against the Reformed, and was therefore left out.)

The communicants now reached the wafer from the Lutheran, and the cup from the Reformed, after the Lutheran minister reached both from the hands of the Reformed.

In the delivery were both these words of the Lutheran form used—

“Take, eat, that is the body of Jesus Christ, which was given for you; let him strengthen you, and hold you by his grace in the true faith, to everlasting life. Amen.

“Take, drink, that is the blood of Jesus Christ, which was shed for you. Let him strengthen, &c.”

I suppose the first attempt was made in Prussia, being no part of the Empire, where the king's power is absolute and independent, it being ridiculously pretended by some, that whereas only three religions are allowed in the empire, Roman, Lutheran, Calvinist, the uniting the latter would make a fourth.

Nichols's Anecdotes—Archbishop Sharp.

1701.

“Fifteen Sermons, preached on several occasions, the last of which* was never before printed, by the most Reverend Father in God, John (Sharp †), Lord Archbishop of York, Primate of England, and Metropolitan,” 8vo.

† Mackay, about this period, 1702, says, “He is one of the greatest ornaments of the Church of England, of great piety and learning; a black man, and fifty-five years old.” The Archbishop had unpardonably offended Swift, by representing him as a person that was not a Christian; by which, it is supposed, he lost a bishopric, intended for him by Queen Anne. To this Swift thus alludes, in the Poem called, “The Author upon Himself, 1713 :”

* Preached before the King at St James's, March 13th, 1697-8.

“ York is from Lambeth sent, to shew the Queen
 A dangerous treatise writ against the spleen ;
 Which, by the style, the matter, and the drift,
 'Tis thought could be the work of none but Swift.
 Poor York! the harmless tool of others' hate ;
 He sues for pardon, and repents too late *.”

Dr. Willis adds, “ To the account given of this eminent Prelate in his epitaph, drawn up by Bishop Smalridge, whose knowledge of him, and integrity, will, as M. Le Neve observes, render every particular in it to be depended on, I shall only add, that he was a most excellent governor, brought the prebendaries in his Cathedral of York, and Colleges of Southwell and Ripon, to strict residence ; and, that they might be the better disposed thereto, he made it his unalterable practice always to elect them out of such as lived in his diocese, and had recommended themselves by doing their duties in their respective parochial cures ; by which means, no Cathedral in England was better attended by clergy, or the service more regularly performed, than at York ; or the ministers of small livings, in any diocese, more encouraged to attend their charge, because this good Bishop would reward their diligence by such compensations, more especially those in York city, on whose conduct the world had a more especial eye. Hoping his example would influence his successors to take the like course, which certainly if other bishops had in like manner practised, the dignities of Cathedrals would have been kept up as in the primitive times, and we should not have seen several of them

* Compare this with page 277—which indicates that the Archbishop's objection was rather to the politics than the religion of Swift.—*Editor.*

so scandalously neglected, nor have reason to complain, as we justly may, in relation to one of them, viz. Landaff; where, as there has scarce been, in these thirty years last past, one clergyman in the diocese preferred to a prebend therein, we may less wonder at the laying aside the organ and choir service, and the suffering the bells, which have been broke in less than that period, to remain cracked, and the breaches made by some late storms, in the towers and other parts of the church, to continue unrepaired, (let it be remembered that this was written in 1727); whereas, on a like accident to Southwell Collegiate Church, a place of less note than Llandaff, it being only a village, this good Archbishop immediately set himself to work to repair that church, and not only generously gave his own, but obtained several large charities to it; and, by his example and zeal, soon made up the breaches." He was an able antiquary, and excelled in the *belles lettres*. He gave to the library of the Dean and Chapter at York, the valuable collections towards a parochial history which had been formed by James Torr; and had himself begun a most useful work of collecting the endowments and benefactions to the churches and chapels in his diocese. His remarks on English, Scotch, and Irish money were in Thoresby's Museum, and another copy is in the Harleian library. They were published by Mr. Ives in his "Select Papers, 1773," No. I. 4to. His "Observations on the Coinage of England, in a letter to Mr. Thoresby, 1693-4," form the xxxvth number of the "Bibliotheca Topographica Britannica."

Doctor Thomas Sharp.—From Nichols's Literary Anecdotes.—Vol. 1st. Anno 1730.

“ An Enquiry into the Causes of Infidelity ; in two Discourses upon John vii. 17, delivered at St. Mary's in Cambridge, before the University ; the former being an Act Sermon on May 18 ; the other on the Commencement Sunday, June 29, 1729, (the publication of which, particularly the latter, was desired by several who heard them). To which is prefixed, a Discourse concerning the True Interpretation of the said Text, by Thomas Sharp*, D.D. Archdeacon of Northumberland, and late Fellow of Trinity College, Cambridge.”

* A younger son of Archbishop Sharp. He was admitted of Trinity College, Cambridge, at the age of 15, about 1708 ; B.A. 1712 ; M.A. 1716. He was Chaplain to Archbishop Dawes ; Prebendary of Southwell, 17— ; Prebendary of Wistow in the Church of York ; April 29, 1719. He was collated to the rectory of Rothbury, co. Northumberland, July 19, 1720 ; Archdeacon of Northumberland, Feb. 27, 1722-3. When he took the degree of D.D. he published “ *Concio ad Clerum habita in Ecclesiâ Sanctæ Mariæ Cantab. 14 to Maii. 1729, pro Gradu Doctoratûs in Sacrà Theologiâ ; à Thomâ Sharp, S.T.P. Colleg. Trin. quondam Socio.*” He was installed Dec. 1, 1732, in the tenth prebend of the cathedral at Durham. July 6, 1753, he made a speech to Richard Trevor, Lord Bishop of Durham, on visiting his diocese ; and in 1755 he succeeded Dr. Mangey as official to the Dean and Chapter of that cathedral. He married a daughter of Sir George Wheeler ; who died July 2, 1757 ; died at Durham, March 16, 1758 ; and was buried in the cathedral, in the place called the Galilee.

In 1753 he published in 8vo., "The Rubric in the Book of Common Prayer, and the Canons of the Church of England, so far as they relate to the parochial clergy, considered in a course of visitation charges." A volume of his "Sermons on several Occasions" was published in 8vo., 1763.

His eldest son, *John Sharp*, D.D. was admitted of Trinity College, Cambridge; where he proceeded B.A. 1743; M.A. 1747; S.T.P. 1759. He was presented by the Blackett family to the curacy of Hexham*, Jan 1, 1749-50. He was chaplain also to Bishop Butler, who died before he had any preferment to bestow upon him; but Bishop Trevor gave him the vicarage of Hartborne, co. Northumberland; collated him April 21, 1762, to the Archdeaconry of Northumberland; to which the rectory of Howick in that county is annexed; and to the ninth prebend of Durham, Aug. 11, 1768. He was nominated to the perpetual curacy of Bamborough, on the death of his brother, *Thomas Sharp*, B.D. (who died Nov. 25, 1772, see *Gent. Mag.* vol. xlii. p. 599), vicar of St. Bartholemew the Less, London. His speech as Subdean of Durham, Aug. 4, 1794, to Bishop Barrington on his translation from the see of Salisbury to Durham, is printed in *Gent. Mag.* vol. lxi. p. 696. He died at his Prebendal house in that city, April 28, 1792, at the age of 69.

The noble and extensive charity founded for the relief of sick and lame seamen, at Bamborough, by Nathaniel Lord Crew, Bishop of Durham, who died in 1720, was

* The Rev. Edward Robson of Whitechapel, possesses a MS. account of Hexham, drawn up by the late Dr. Sharp's father, consisting of extracts from Prior Richard's History of Hexham, with copious notes; written for the information of a lady who lived there.—*Gent. Mag.* vol. lxii. p. 618.

arranged by the benevolence of this worthy man, who was one of the trustees, and resided many months in Bamborough Castle, superintending the works of charity, and having his eye open upon every new channel by which he might give relief or consolation to his suffering fellow-creatures. The shipwrecked and the diseased were comforted by his visitation, having repaired and rendered habitable the great tower, in which he reserved for himself and family the great hall and a few smaller apartments. The upper part is a granary, from whence corn is dealt out to the poor, in the dearest times at 4s. per bushel. Other apartments are provided for shipwrecked seamen, and beds prepared for thirty; a constant patrol is kept every stormy night for above eight miles, the length of the manor, along this tempestuous coast; and on the top of the tower is fixed a cannon, the only thing saved from a Dutch frigate of 40 guns, lost here, with all the crew, about 80 years ago, to collect the neighbourhood, whereby vessels as well as men are frequently saved. A view of this castle, and a table of signals, is given in *Gent. Mag.* vol. lxi. p. 889. See also Hutchinson's *Northumberland*, ii. 174—178, *Durham*, ii. 225. The number of sick and lame received into the hospital from October 1774, to October 1775, were 763; to October 1776, 1120; to October 1777, 1180.

The history of Archdeacon *John Sharp*, is so pleasingly given in the following letter to Mr. Urban, dated Ochterlyre, April 1, 1793, that I cannot resist the inclination I feel to copy it.

“In the course of a jaunt to England three years ago, in quest of health and intellectual food, a friend and I visited Bamburgh castle; and though we had no

introduction, Dr. Sharp received us with his usual courtesy and goodness. I was so much delighted with this second man of Ross, and his labour of love, that, some time after my return home, I expressed my feelings in an inscription for that very interesting castle. It is perhaps too long; but, where the circumstances are equally appropriate, it is difficult to abridge. Measured prose is commonly applied to epitaphs; yet why should not the just and good be told, in the language of tenderness and truth, what their contemporaries think of them? The Doctor's letter to me on that subject, breathes a dignified simplicity, which does honour at once to his head and heart. There is not a word in it that a friend would wish to suppress, or any thing on which malevolence could have laid hold, even in his own time. I am advised by very good judges to publish the inscription, for the sake of his letter. I therefore send you the inscription a little varied from its original form, with a copy of the letter.

“ May I also request that you would add the inclosed icon, a portrait, of the father of my fellow-traveller, it being mentioned in Dr. Sharp's letter? I sent it him six years before his death, which was as edifying as his life. Any body who has seen (as I often have) the love and affection with which his people regarded this excellent man, in public and in private, would have thought Goldsmith had him in view when he drew his picture of a country clergyman. The father translated the New Testament into Galic; and the son has the charge of publishing the rest of the Bible in that language. Two men more amiable and useful in very different lines than he and Dr. Sharp are seldom to be found in the same age and island.” JO. RAMSAY.

Copy of a Letter from Dr. Sharp to John Ramsay, Esq.

“ Sir,

You have so overpowered me by the handsome things you have been pleased to write, so far above any deserts of my own, that I am at a loss what answer to give, or how to thank you as I ought. And as you have so kindly interested yourself in what has been done here, perhaps a little history of the gradual improvements will not be disagreeable to you. It was owing to the peculiar situation of this castle, and accidental circumstances, more than to any other cause, that so many charities have been thought of, and instituted here. In 1757, a part of the old tower being ready to fall, my father, in the last year of his life got it supported, merely because it had been a sea-mark for ages, and consequently, as such, beneficial to the public. I succeeded him in the trust. The children of the poor wanted education; therefore schools were necessary; and where so proper as under the eye of the trustees? The rights of the latter were suffering for want of manor-courts being held; to remedy which, a court-room was fitted up, and other accommodations made for that purpose, where courts are held regularly twice a year. There was no house belonging to the minister of the parish; the trustees therefore (the living being in their gift) consented to be at an equal expense with my brother, who was then the incumbent, in fitting up rooms for that purpose. On my brother's death, I succeeded to the living; and, as he had left me his library, I sold it to the trustees, in order to its being made a public library; and applied the money, in part of a larger sum,

to be laid out by me in land, by a deed enrolled in chancery, as a fund for the perpetual repairs of the great tower. The poor on this maritime coast were frequently much distressed for want of corn, owing to the convenience the farmers had of exportation. This grievance was alleviated by the erection of granaries, and receiving a part of our rents in corn. Once a vessel was wrecked behind the castle, and the crew saved; but the unfortunate master, after having escaped the perils of the sea, died of a damp bed in the village. That the like might never happen again; all shipwrecked sailors (who come) are received here, and supplied with every necessary. This was the beginning of our little infirmary, which soon suggested the idea of a general dispensary for the poor; which is particularly useful in this part of the country, as there is no other charity of the kind between Edinburgh and Newcastle. The vicinity of the Fern islands, and the want of regular soundings without them, pointed out the convenience of regular firing in a fog; and an old gun found in the sand was applied to that purpose, which has answered our most sanguine expectations. The accidental discovery of the ancient well pointed out the convenience of baths, and the infirmary required a variety of them. The number of wrecks on this particular coast, of vessels that had run for Holy Island harbour in a storm, and had failed of getting into it, and the melancholy sights from the castle of persons wrecked on the islands, and starving with hunger and cold, together with the savage plundering of such goods, &c. as were driven on shore, induced the lords of the manor to try to give every assistance to vessels in distress, and premiums for saving of lives. But how are warlike preparations

consistent with charitable purposes? This requires some explanation. The crews of vessels in time of war chased by a privateer are glad to keep as near the shore as they can, and rather run upon it than be taken. Here we have some uncommon local advantages. The deepness of the channel between the shore and the islands, which is sufficient for the largest ships, and the narrowness of that part of it opposite to us, and the elevated situation of the castle, which an enemy's ship cannot well pass but within gun-shot, demonstrate the utility of a battery, of which we have already had some experience, and in case of war shall perhaps have more. By residing a good deal here, I had an opportunity of raising the rents of the estates considerably, though still with moderation, so as not to distress the tenants; this raised a farther income for charitable purposes. But, as I can do nothing of myself in the trust, without the concurrence of my brethren, if any praise be due, they are entitled to their share of it; for they readily agreed to every proper plan of charity that was proposed to them. But as for those improvements which did not strictly come under the denomination of charity, but yet were necessary for carrying on the repairs of the castle, and making it habitable, commodious, and more extensively useful; I have hitherto defrayed the expense of these, out of the clear yearly profits of the living of Bamburgh, together with some assistance from my relations and friends. One charity naturally brings on another; and perhaps there are few situations in the kingdom, where so many and different charities were practicable, and had so peculiar a propriety as in this place, and where every incidental circumstance was made subservient to the general plan. The wrecks

(that is, such as were not, or could not be claimed) supplied us with a considerable quantity of timber, iron, ropes, &c; and every thing that came ashore was applied to the purpose of the building, in the manner it would answer best. But now, by means of light houses (in which we have no concern) and our own institutions for the safety of navigation, our coast is safer than it ever was before, and very few accidents happen. I cannot conclude without repeating my grateful thanks for your very elegant and classical inscription for this place, &c. (which shall be carefully preserved) and also for your well-drawn picture of what a minister of the Gospel ought to be. I am, with compliments to your fellow-traveller, who, I hope, will inherit his father's virtues,

Sir,

Your much obliged,

Humble Servant,

JOHN SHARP."

BAMBURGH CASTLE, MDCCXC.

Hanc arcem, O Viator!

antiquitùs unum è regni propugnaculis,

ævo feliciore refecit semirutam

Johannes Sharp, S.T.P.

cui hospitalitas avari lucro suavior;

cujus labores, ut et otii lusiones,

generis humani amorem redolent.

En horti cultum octogenario delegat

quia Domino priori* per annos quinquaginta

* The late Sir Walter Blackett.

incassum fuerat fidelis ;
 eique misellus opitulatur Æthiops,
 ob libertatem (mirabile dictu)
 è societate propemodum ejectus,
 pii fidei commissi pius administrator !
 In annonæ penuriâ,
 frumentum vili pretio industriis suppeditat.
 Quo cibum animæ salubrem meliùs largiretur,
 Scholas instituit, et curâ paternâ fovet.
 Quâ bonitate, quibusque solatiis,
 è mari naufrago elapsos excipere solet !
 Si verò tormenta bellica
 præ pacis amantissimi foribus mireris ;
 ista ambitionis causâ minime parantur,
 sed naves vel à prædatoribus defendere,
 vel nebulâ oblectis viam comiter monstrare.
 O ! si pax, ergaque homines benevolentia,
 in terris universè regnent !
 tunc arces olim munitissimæ,
 templa charitatis quoque fierent.
 Interea pro talibus operibus
 pulcherrima speretur merces :
 Veniet enim dies suprema,
 quâ totius mundi iudex, majestate mitissimus,
 ob ipsius amorem misericordes sic alloquetur ;
 “ Vos beatos cœleste manet regnum !”

*Sent in December 1783, to the Rev. Mr. James Stuart,
Minister of Killin, Perthshire, who died Jan. 30, 1789.*

“ Vivit, diùque vivat
licet octogenarius,
Jacobus Stuart, apud Killin, V.D.M.
vir utilissimæ popularitatis!
abhorrens enim à factione strepituque,
amoris operâ indefessâ
suo sibi mirifice devincet.
Sive igitur in viâ loquitur,
sive è pulpito sacra exponit oracula,
auditorum corda intus ardent.
Peccato acerbus, peccatori lenis!
In illo conveniunt
doctrina, pudor, suadela,
sanctissimi mores, suavisque hilaritas.
Domo modicâ sed peramænâ,
corcordiæ diu mansione,
vicinos, viatores, egenos,
ex animo excipere,
est ei pro luxuriâ.
Ultimâ canente tubâ,
(canet etenim, mortuique resurgent)
pro pastore pio ac fideli,
quantuli minuti philosophi,
vel Cæsares, olim orbis terrarum Domini?”

“ That the Sharps are truly a family both of genius and philanthropy, two of the late Archdeacon’s brothers, who are still living ornaments of the metropolis, will testify.”

Note.—The living ornaments, when the above was writ-

ten by Mr. Nichols, were—the late Granville Sharp, and the eminent Surgeon, William Sharp of Fulham. The Life of Granville Sharp has been given to the public from the pen of Prince Hoare, Esq.—*Editor.*

British Musæum.—Cole's MS. 5880, fo. 75.

Sharp John L^a Arch B^p of York of Christ's College —Ric^d Ward ded. his Life of Dr. Hen. More to him in 1710, in wh^{ch} he tells his Grace that he was used to express his acknowledgm^{ts} of obligations to Dr. More. V. Whiston's Mem. of Dr. Clarke Edit: 3 p. 10. V. Whiston's Memoirs of himself p. 27. John Clere ded. his Harmonia Evangelica to him. pr. at Amsterdam 1699. fol. Joanni Archiepo Ebor: &c. w^{ch} gives a great char. of him. quod vide. K. C. L.—V. Burnet's Times, Vol. 1 p. 462. 674. 675. 677. Vol. 2 p. 76. 312. 720. p. m.—V. L^a Orrery's Life of Dr. Swift. Letter. 4.—Relation des mesures qui furent prises dans les années 1711, 1712 & 1713, pour introduire La Liturgie Anglicane dans la Roiaume de Prusse, et dans l'Electorat de Hanover. Eclaircie par des Lettres et autres Pièces originales relatives à ce Projet. Le tout extrait d'un manuscrit qui n'a pas encore été rendu public, contenant des Mémoires de la Vie du Docteur Jean Sharp Archevêque d'York. Traduit de l'Anglois par J. T. Muysson, Ministre de la Chapelle Françoisè du Palais de St. James, et de l'Eglise Françoisè de le Savoie à Londres. Imprimé par W. Richardson et S. Clark, dans Fleet-Street. 1757—4to. containing 117 Pages—In the blank Leaf of the Title Page is wrote " The Gift of the Editors, Grandsons of AB^p Sharp, to Mr. Lort": Mr: Professor Lort of Trin: College lent it to me 1768 June

the 7th. It has a short Dedication to Frederic 3 King of Prussia, in which it is said, that the Descendants of AB^p Sharp who possess the said MSS. presume to offer this Book to your Majesty. The MS. was compiled by Dr. Tho. Sharp, Archdeacon of Northumberland, a Prebendary of Durham, Son to the AB^p. See his character at p. 108 &c.

V. Birch's Life of Tillotson. p. 39, 166, 181, 199, 243, 235, 276, 277, 294, 295, 296, p. m. V. Silvester's Life of Baxter: Part 3. p. 151. p. m.

A Discourse concerning Conscience. In 2 Parts. By Dr. Sharp L^a AB^p of York. Published in 1694, among the Collection of Cases & Discourses to recover the Dissenters.—By some London Divines p. m.—V. Ward's Life of Dr. Henry More of Christ's College. Dedication p. m. V. A Letter from the AB^p to Dr. Radcliffe in 1710, in Dr. Radcliffe's Life. p. 58. p. m. int. Misc. Pamph. V. Carter's Cambridge p. 235, p. m.

See his Remarks on our English Coins, printed by Mr. Ives in his Select Papers, N^o 1. p. 1. 22. 4^{to} 1773 p. m.

Kettlewell's Life, p. 154. p. m.

Queen Anne pitched upon AB^p of York to preach her Coronation Sermon & to be her chief Counsellor in Church matters, he being a warm & zealous Man for the Church, & reckoned a Tory. Dutchess of Marlborough's Account of her Conduct. p. 134. p. m. However in Macpherson's Original Papers. Vol. 2 p. 562 is a L^r from Shutz, the Hanoverian Resident to Robethon at Hanover dated Feb: 1714 with this Acc^t of the AB^p just then dead. "He (AB^p Sharp) really believed 4 " yrs. ago, with others, whose eyes are now opened, " that the Ch. of Engl. was in Danger & concurred in

“ the Measures of those, who endeavoured to put it in
 “ Security, but having found out his Mistake, and being
 “ convinced that they had no other Design than to sa-
 “ tisfy their Avarice, their Ambition, and their private
 “ Resentments, he left them about a y^r & half ago, and
 “ even hindered her Majesty from giving a Deanry in
 “ England to the Sieur Savist [He means Swift, &
 “ shews that the Dutch or Germans are as good at
 “ mangling English Names as the French] the Favou-
 “ rite and Creature of the Prime Minister, who gave
 “ him since a Deanry in Dublin” *Fasti Oxon* Vol. 2
 p. 177. p. m. Jo: Sharp Coll: Chr admissus in Ma-
 triculam Academiæ Cantabr. Jul. 9, 1660—*Regr* *ibid*
 B: A: B: Coll: Chr. 1663, 4—A: M: 1667 *Regr*. B.

v. Drake's *Eboracum*. p. 467. p. m.

v. Whiston's *Historical Preface to Primitive Xtianity*
 revived, p. 14. 18. 44. 49. 71. 72. 115. p. m.

Doctor Thomas Sharp—Ibid. fo. 181.

Sharp Thomas. Archdeacon of Northumberland v.
 Mrs. Catherine Cockburn's *Life* prefix'd to her *Works*
 p. xliv. Vol. 2 p. 311. 312. 353 &c.—penes Mr. Comis-
 sary Greaves de Fulburne.

v. Dr. Stukeley's *Carausius*. p. 96. 116—p. m.

D.D. Fell: Trin: Coll: Son of AB^p Sharp—Archdⁿ of
 Notthumb^ld R^r of Rothbury in Northumb. 1722. *Concio*
ad Clerum, habita in Ecclia T. Mariæ Cantab: 14 Maii
 1729, pro Gradu Doctoratus in Sacra Theologia. In
 Joh: 7, 17—L. 1730, 8vo.

----- Joh. 7. 17. ----- Maij 18 ----- Jun
 29, 1729 ----- &c. 1730, 8vo. Rawl. HR. Miscell. 519.
 —“ Short Hand.”

A Charity Serm: pr. in the Par: Ch: of All S^{ts} in Newcastle upon Tyne, on the Festival of All Saints. 1722; being the Day for the annual Collection for the Charity Children. On Acts 20. 25. Newcastle, 1722 Svo. Rawl. HR. Miscell: 519.

Doctor Thomas Sharp left in MS. now in the possession of Mrs. Andrew Sharp.

Catalogus Episcoporum
 Priorum—Decanorum—Canonicorum
 Ecclesiæ Dunelmensis
 Cui premittitur Series Episcoporum Lindisfarnensium
 Subjiciuntur Catalogi
 Archidiaconorum
 Dunelmensium et Northumbriæ
 Et Cancellariorum
 Temporalium et Spiritualium
 Dunelmensium.

Editor.

THE
OPINION
OF
DR. THOMAS SHARP,
ARCHDEACON OF NORTHUMBERLAND,
ON A PROPOSAL FOR INSTITUTING
A PROTESTANT CONVENT

NOW FIRST PUBLISHED, 1825.

THE Editor presents the Reader with the following pleasing specimen of the vein and judgment of Doctor Thomas Sharp.

THE
OPINION
OF
DR. THOMAS SHARP,
ON A PROPOSAL FOR INSTITUTING
A PROTESTANT CONVENT.
1737.

Reverend Sir,

At the most earnest request of some well-disposed persons in this part of our island, I take the liberty to write to you on the following subject.

It has been observed, with great concern—that, for a good number of years past, both in the southern and northern parts of our country, ladies of quality, and gentlewomen, though possessed of excellent merit and handsomely provided in fortunes according to their degrees, have, however past the flower of their age and perhaps more, in a single life. In this situation, especially after the death of their parents, they have found themselves exposed to scorn, to say no worse, for their being of little use to the world, and have been inclined to wish they had some happy place of retreat, where they might employ the remaining part of their days in

the comfortable society of some pious and virtuous persons of their own sex.

Diverse speculations have been had by such as wish heartily well to the good ladies on this occasion; but after mature deliberation, none has appeared more agreeable than to propose a *Nunnery of Protestant religious and virtuous persons, well born, of the female sex, conforming themselves to the worship of the Church of England, as by law established*: a scheme of this society is, with all humble deference, inclosed here, for your perusal at hours of greatest leisure, and submitted to your opinion; and if either this, or any such model, happen to take, it must of course be subject to such regulations as shall be concerted by the Bishop of the Diocese where such nunnery shall be founded, with advice and consent of the Dean and Chapter of such diocese: and if it shall happily receive your approbation, some hopes are pleasantly entertained, that you will be so good as to recommend it to the Right Reverend the Bishop of Durham, within whose diocese it is projected the first religious society of this kind shall be founded. To be yet more particular with you, it is with due submission thought, no part within his jurisdiction may be more properly resolved on, for this first foundation; than Sedgefield, where the ladies may have the benefit of public worship in a decent little church, as well as of the less solemn devotions in their own chapel.

All further insisting upon this subject is suspended until you shall be pleased to give your sentiment about the project in its general view. Only you will perceive there is not the most distant intention here of introducing a practice according to the model observed in the church of Rome, since *the ladies are by no means to come*

under vows, but left at liberty to quit the nunnery, upon condition they give timeous notice to their prioress, and to the bishop of the diocese.

Now, dear Sir, I heartily beg your pardon for giving you so much trouble upon a subject so uncommon as this is; but if the suggestion be not to your mind, pray be so good as to let me know so much by your answer, directed as underneath, so soon as you can conveniently write it. I am, with unfeigned respect, upon account of the most worthy character you are generally said to have so long and so deservedly maintained,

Reverend Sir,

Your most engaged
humble Servant,

WILLIAM CUNNINGHAME.

Edinburgh, 17th of March, 1737.

P. S. Please to direct to Sir William Cunninghame, at his house in the Lawn Market, Edinburgh.

Pray forgive that I write to you by another hand, by reason of my old age.

A Scheme for erecting a Society of Ladies of Quality, and Gentlewomen, of Great Britain, in order to a pious and comfortable Retirement.

It is humbly proposed to the serious consideration of such of them as, after a certain age, have found the *diversions* of the world become *flat*, and a great part of its *business uneasy* to them, if they are unmarried, and think of continuing in that state of life, that they cheer-

fully agree to have themselves formed into a religious company of excellent persons, who may at the same time be happy instruments of good—*of glory to Almighty God, and of true solace to one another*; that, in consequence of this, they do with all readiness concur in opinion, that a society of that nature may be most exactly modelled by some one or other of the bishops of the Church of England, with advice and consent of the dean and chapter of the diocese. That therefore it is supposed, the ladies are of the communion of that church at present, or *heartily willing to conform to it* hereafter.

It is further offered, with all submission to their deliberate thoughts, that *widow ladies*, as well as those who never have been married, be taken into the number, provided they have no children; and it is confidently hoped—that (if prudent care be taken in the choice of truly pious worthy matrons,) such admission will extremely tend to the great honour and reputation of the blessed society.

With all imaginable deference it is likewise laid before ladies, seriously to advise among themselves whether the following conditions may not be proper to be observed, before the proposal above mentioned takes effect.

As 1st, That proper certificates be had from the several counties from whence the ladies offering themselves to be members shall come of their age, *forty or thirty-six years at lowest*; of their exemplary gravity, agreeable temper, fit for a social, though not a conjugal life; of their being well descended, piously disposed, and frugally inclined; and it must not be forgot, to have it well attested, that they are absolutely free from

every kind of catching disease which may be of dangerous and infectious consequence.

2ndly. That the ladies shall each of them pay into the society forty pounds sterling yearly, at two terms of the year, 25*l.* of which towards their table and other charges of what kind soever relating to their common interest, and fifteen pounds for the particular uses of every one of the ladies.

3rdly. That they chuse by _____ a steward, who must be impowered to receive the money, to *grant discharges upon payment*, and to apply the incomes of the society, as orders shall be given him from time to time; for all which it is humbly thought he may deserve a yearly salary of thirty pounds sterling.

4thly. That a Chaplain not under forty years old, unmarried and resolved to continue so, be named by the Bishop, with consent of the Dean and Chapter of the diocese, within which this religious society shall fix their residence, which Chaplain so named 'tis confidently hoped, shall be prudent, devout and learned, whose office may be to read prayers regularly mornings and evenings every day, and to preach one of the week regularly, at least once in the forenoon, to say grace at the table, to inspect the conduct of every member of the society, and make report to the Bishop, or in his absence to the Dean once a month, that when the visitation by the Bishop and Dean comes about, as suppose once in four months, the ladies may receive a just applause of their behaviour if good, and a censure according to their demerit if it is not so. That the Chaplain have besides his entertainment and lodging out of the common funds, a yearly salary appointed him of forty

pounds sterling, to be punctually paid at the expiration of each year.

5thly. That for the conveniency of these well disposed ladies a *house be built capable of accommodating thirty* in a humble, clean, and easy lodging, that the situation of it be in a healthful air, and near to a decent church, where the ladies may have the pleasant opportunity of joining with the congregation in the solemn parts of divine worship, besides the more private devotions in their own chapel; that this house or *convent* be built with a pretty, clean, and neat oratory or chapel adjoining to it; that within a proper precinct office-houses, such as brewhouse, kitchen, laundry, be likewise built, as also that about *twenty acres of good ground, to be purchased in the very neighbourhood of the convent*, four of which may be laid out into a garden containing *pleasant walks* for the diversion of the ladies, and furnished with fruit trees and kitchen ground for their use; that this garden be inclosed by stone walls three or four yards high, to which may be nailed fruit trees of the best kinds. That the remaining sixteen acres be laid out in four *different inclosures*, of equal extent, two whereof for pasturing of eight good milk cows, and the other two for hay for fodder to them in the winter season; in this manner it is hoped provision may be made for a dairy to the ladies.

6thly. Because the building of this convent, purchasing of grounds as above described, and providing all necessaries at first setting up of this religious society, may seem to require a very considerable sum of money, it is therefore humbly proposed that a modest application be first made to the Duchess Dowager of Marlbo-

rough, that she be pleased to contribute to it out of her great abundance, by which means she will do an excellent work, purchase to herself the hearty prayers of many well-disposed persons, and perpetuate her memory to future generations. If this endeavour shall not succeed, the next address may be made to one or more of the pious, rich and beneficent ladies of England, to that purpose, which, it is humbly presumed, they will encourage with a hearty good-will. If this second attempt should miscarry, there remaineth yet another, which, it is humbly presumed, will take, and seems to form itself in this fashion—that proper methods be used to persuade noblemen and gentlemen of good families, and plentiful estates, who may have *daughters or near relations disposed to enter into a religious society as above described*, to promote so pious a project, by generously affording what sums they please towards the building, purchasing, and providing, as aforesaid. In this well-intended purpose, no doubt is made but that the Right Reverend the Bishops of the Church of England, who have the honour of religion and the good of the church at heart, and are well provided in great revenues, will, together with their clergy, *particularly such as are possessed of rich benefices*, be ready to concur with all cheerfulness. Now let it be supposed that by some one or other of the ways already mentioned, the good ladies are provided in a good house or convent, and then follows the

7th condition, That the religious society so convened, do immediately, after they have entered the convent, proceed to chuse out of their number, by ballot, three ladies for *prioress*, and three more for *sub-prioress*, who are to be presented to the bishop of the diocese, where

they reside, that he may name one out of each class, for the more regular government within doors.

8thly, That they all agree that these two ladies punctually execute such rules and instructions as shall from time to time be given them by the bishop, with advice and consent of the dean and chapter of the diocese.

9thly, That the ladies come *under no vows* other than what they are bound by when admitted by holy baptism, and 'tis presumed they have often renewed, at their communicating in the holy eucharist—so it must needs follow, that they be at *full liberty to quit the convent* whenever they have a mind so to do, provided they acquaint their prioress and the bishop of the diocese with such their intention, six months at least before they take leave, that timeous intimation may be made of a vacancy to happen in the society.

10thly, That if they shall, after trial deliberately had of this manner of living in a pious and virtuous retirement, find it so agreeable to their inclinations, as they determine themselves to live and die in this happy society, and further be disposed to *bequeath to its use any part of their estates*, they take care such donation do not exceed *one-third* of them, leaving at least two-thirds to the use and behoof of the families from which they are descended.

Now this scheme honestly intended, though perhaps unskilfully described, is, with most humble deference to the ladies, and to such as they shall be pleased to advise with, submitted to their correction or absolute refusal. But if either the whole, or any part, shall receive a kind approbation, the person *who first gave the hint* will reckon his poor endeavour sufficiently rewarded; and

in this case it may possibly grow into such credit, as in a proper season to be authorised by a *parliamentary sanction*.

DOCTOR SHARP'S REPLY.

Sir,

I have received the favour of your letter of the 17th instant, in which you are pleased to do me honour in asking my advice, being wholly a stranger to you, and *particularly in suspending the prosecution of your scheme, till you knew my sentiments about it in its general view*. Now, though my opinion is not of such consequence as to deserve this regard from you, yet you have laid me under an obligation by this deference and civility, to answer your letter, both as soon, and as fully, and particularly as I can.

Every serious and sober *proposal*, (such as your's plainly appears to be) for contriving means to *make any persons better or happier than they are*, must needs prove itself to be commendable *in this view*, and be acceptable, *as such*, to all good people, and nobody would be more ready than myself to assist you, both in contriving (if I knew how), and in recommending *any proper* and agreeable situation of life for those persons for whom you are concerned.

But when I have said this, I must also freely tell you, that I apprehend there are some difficulties in the way you have proposed, that will not easily be got over. Give me leave to mention them.

First. You are pleased to say, *it is at the request of some well-disposed persons in your parts, that you write to*

me upon this subject. May I presume to ask a question which seems to me very material—Are these persons of that sex, or of that disposition, for which the scheme is calculated, or not? If they are not, I have some doubts how far any of our sex are proper judges for them in such a matter as this, or whether we may venture to form schemes of life to invite them into upon general guesses and surmises of their inclinations and dispositions.

You say, indeed, that “*it has been observed for a good number of years past, that ladies of quality, and gentlewomen possessed of excellent merit, and handsomely provided for in fortunes, have found themselves, in single life, exposed to scorn, and held of little use in the world.*” I am sorry any occasion has been given for so melancholy a reflection; but at the same time am willing to hope that *this is not real matter of fact.* I am sure it never yet came under my observation; and it seems to me to be as much against reason and probability as it is against experience: for, without regard to age, or any other circumstance of single women whatsoever, merit, and a competent fortune, (especially when further recommended by good alliance in blood) will always set them sufficiently above being slighted or overlooked, and much more above any contempt. Their *virtues* and good qualities alone, exclusive of either *fortune* or *family*, will gain them the esteem of all the *sensible* part of the world; and as to the rest of mankind, who are not disposed to reverence virtue for its own sake, yet they commonly pay a due respect to family and fortune. So I cannot discover what it is such gentlewomen have to fear or apprehend from the bare circumstances of being

single in life, and advanced in life. For suppose one of these circumstances to be as involuntary and as unavoidable as the other is, yet it is quite innocent and unblameable. But if it be voluntary and upon choice, it is a very great and *honourable* character in life.

If, therefore, any gentlewoman so circumstanced as you suppose, should happen to take a fancy (for I must call it so), that, *because she is not married before a certain age, she shall be exposed to scorn, and be thought of little use in the world, and shall become thereupon inclined to wish she had a place of solace and retirement, among some of her own sex,* I think, in the first place, that instead of allowing and encouraging this fancy in her, she should be *disabused*, and taught to think this certain truth, that *where virtue and goodness is, there can be no room for contempt*; unless it be such pretended impotent contempt as some senseless people affect to shew of all virtuous and religious persons, without distinction. And to be despised in such company, was always held an honour. And she should be further given to understand, that to retire from the world and business of life, upon account of any idle *raileries* upon her present condition of life, would be so far from preventing them, that it would only tend to *encrease them*. And if this ought to be the advice given to a person situated in such circumstances and affected by them in such manner as you represent, I must leave you to judge, upon a second consideration, how improper it must be to confirm those notions in gentlewomen who have unhappily entertained them, by making a proposal which is founded upon a supposition of their being really in that disagreeable situation which their own fancy, and the equally fanciful *raileries* of others, have seemed to place them in.

This, therefore, which is the ground of your scheme, doth not appear (at least, not to me) to have so good a foundation as is set forth in your preamble.

And though I might stop here till this point be better cleared up, yet, hoping you will pardon me, I will examine your proposals a little further.

2dly. I cannot see in what respects this scheme promises a more than ordinary advancement of piety and religion. For there are no religious exercises which the ladies can perform in their monastery, but what they can as well perform out of it, especially if they live in religious families, of which there are great numbers in which God is served with a family service, over and above the stated services of the church. *If they find, as you observe, at a certain age, the diversions of the world become flat to them, why cannot they both avoid and despise those diversions out of a monastery as well as in it? If they find, as you observe, a great part of the business of the world uneasy to them, (you mean such business as they may lawfully quit and lay aside), why are they not as much at liberty when out of a monastery to drop it, if they please, as when in it? If you should be understood here to speak of any business that is incumbent on them as a duty, the putting them out of a capacity of doing it, under the notion of a religious retirement, would be an insuperable objection to the whole scheme.*

Although, therefore, I do fully agree with you, *that ladies of quality and fortune that are unmarried, and think of continuing in that state of life, would, if formed into a separate society, prove a religious company of excellent persons; yet I cannot but think their excellence as great and as conspicuous in common life; and that they are,*

while they live intermixed with mankind, both as *happy instruments of glory to God, and of solace too*, (if they can be supposed to need it) *to one another*, as they would be in a recluse life.

But further, though a monastic life should be allowed both more agreeable and more advantageous to themselves, yet it must be remembered, that we ought not to live to ourselves only; the public hath some right to our service: and I look upon it as a great mistake to think that the maids and matrons, for whose peace you are concerned, are *of little use to the public*. Their example and conversation are of great consequence to young people of their own sex, and very often are seasonable reproaches of the irregularities of ours. They are likewise the support of the outward credit of religion, in all great towns, by their due and regular attendance of God's worship; and, in a word, I am persuaded that if every body's pretences to public usefulness were fairly sifted and examined, we should find these maids and matrons, whom your scheme invites out of common life, both capable of doing, and *actually doing*, as much real good as their neighbours; and more good than all the young things, that have not passed the flower of their age, put together.

3dly. You observe that *divers speculations have been had by such as wish heartily well to the good ladies on this occasion, but that, after mature deliberation, none has appeared more agreeable, than to propose a nunnery of Protestants*. I take it, Sir, for granted, you are no stranger to *Mr. Stephen's* project on this head, or *the serious Proposals of a Lady*, or *Sir George Wheeler's Protestant Monastery*. I question whether any scheme hitherto formed, doth exceed, or even come up to your's. Per-

haps nothing can be better projected, (a few circumstances being altered, which I shall mention presently) by way of nunnery or collegiate life for ladies, than your's is. But still, the grand query is left unanswered, (viz.) whether any institution of this kind can be proper and useful in this our Protestant kingdom, a query not to be rejected 'till it be well considered.

For whatever accounts we meet with in any age or in any part of the Christian Church, of colleges or societies of virgins, they are always to be understood of such as were dedicated or consecrated, and deprived of that liberty which you are willing to allow them, as indeed all Protestants do, and with very good reason. Now however well the monastic life may be calculated for persons having the *vow* upon them as the safest means of preserving, and the likeliest means of making life easy under it, yet these (only) recommendations of a nunnery do cease when the *vow*, as in your scheme, is to be out of the question. When I say this I am very far from recommending *the vow itself*; but I mention it only to shew that the recluse life, which seems chiefly accommodated to the votaries of celibacy and virginity, loses its apparent expediency when considered with respect to other persons, who are not under the same obligations.

If it be objected to the Church of England (as I believe it is by the Papists) that we want such public professions of virginity and celibacy as they can shew in the Church of Rome, the answer is obvious and easy (viz.) that we do equally with them acknowledge a single state, voluntarily chosen, to be both advantageous and a saint-like situation in the Christian life. But in this we differ from them, that we think *this state of vir-*

ginity is more glorious and praiseworthy without the obligations of a vow than with it, and still more exemplary in a public way of life than in a nunnery. It is frivolous to object to this, that because we can make no direct proofs of a voluntary virginity, therefore none continue in that state but such as want opportunity of changing it with convenience. This is just the same reasoning as if we should conclude that nothing would preserve the Popish nuns safe but their vow and their confinement. All these and the like presumptions are hasty and uncharitable. It may be the case of some to be unwillingly ranged in this class of single women, and yet they may be very virtuous and excellent persons notwithstanding. However, there wants not undeniable proofs that this is not the case of all. And what I observe in general is that where it cannot be known (as commonly speaking I believe it cannot) what are the true motives to a single life in any person; it is both unreasonable and ill natured to suppose the worst as the satyrical part of the world are always disposed to do.

And now, Sir, to return to your scheme. It is to be feared your whole society, *considering the age you fix for the members to be admitted, will be interpreted to consist of this disappointed class of ladies; which though it should be an unfair and unwarrantable presumption, yet should it really prove the current sentiment it will neither be of credit to the ladies themselves, nor tend to the honour of the church of which they are members. The ostentation of the Popish nunneries is in the early vows of perpetual virginity, and the sacrifices made of the world and its pleasures by persons in the flower of their age. These you do very justly ex-*

clude out of your society. But then it is to be considered to what imputations your society is liable, (viz;) to be thought a company of discontented and desponding creatures that are tired of the world because they think the world is tired of them. And as I observed above that such institutions as those do not promise any extraordinary advancement of piety and religion either in the recluses themselves or in the world in general for the reasons before given; so I must remark here for these reasons now given, that such a Protestant nunnery as you propose does not bid fair for any extraordinary credit to the Church of England.

The liberty you allow the ladies to leave their retirement when they please, no doubt is right, and indeed is necessary: but still 'tis liable to this consequence, that every instance of this liberty's being used will afford some handle of reflection upon the whole society: and if there should be frequent instances of it, (and who can foresee the changes and inconstancies of people's tempers in matters purely indifferent and discretionary?) then such a society may in the event prove rather a discredit than an honour to our Established Church.

These, Sir, are sincerely my present sentiments about your project *in its general view*. How far they may disappoint your expectations from me I know not, but they are given with that freedom and impartiality that a serious request upon a serious business did demand of me. And now I submit them to you with all *that imaginable deference*, and more if possible than you are pleased to express in your very modest manner of propounding your scheme.

I cannot say but the difference between your way of thinking on this subject and mine may in some measure

arise from the *different customs of our countries*, and peculiar dispositions of the people among whom our observations are made. Were I in your place I might see more and better reasons for such a proposal than I can apprehend at present. And were you in my situation you might perhaps see less : I make as little doubt of your honest and pious intention in what you have schemed, as I do of my own sincerity in telling you my objections to it. I am sure we both shall agree in the end if we can but think alike of the means, of promoting the happiness, both temporal and eternal, of the good people who are the subject of our correspondence. And you shall always find me ready to assist you in any proposal made for their sakes that I think will bear when well examined and weighed. But as to this which you have sent me, I both despair of giving you encouragement from the ladies in these parts, and do likewise suspend the acquainting our Bishop with it : because it is not (at least not yet) what I can recommend to him. Nevertheless I am so far from relying upon my own judgment, or desiring you to rely upon it ; that if after you have taken the trouble of perusing what I have wrote, you still think it adviseable to have his lordship's opinion too ; in this case I will obey your directions and send it to him.

If you will give me leave to add a word or two upon the particular conditions of this projected society laid down in your enclosed articles, (though I need say the less, because I observe them to be seriously considered of and adjusted by the ladies who are to be concerned in them, which is discreetly judged) I will venture to mention a few things which if a little altered would I believe make the scheme more palata-

ble; and this you must take for lieu of instructions from the ladies themselves, which though they would be much better than my own, yet I have no hopes of getting from them.

1. Might you not as well leave out the words convent, prioress, nunnery, and whatever conveys an idea of similitude between your society and the Popish religious houses?

2. The certificates or testimonials required are such as perhaps cannot in some cases with any propriety be given. As for instance; who can certify *that any temper which is not fit for a conjugal life, is fit for a social one, founded upon compact as that of your college must be?* Your meaning I rather guess is, that the ladies shall be fit for a social life upon account of their tempers, though not for a conjugal one on account of their age. But your proposal as it is worded implies what I have just now excepted against.

3. Then as to *certificates about infectious diseases*, it is too nice and delicate a point to put ladies of quality upon bringing certificates to clear themselves thereof.

4. *That the Chaplain should be unmarried and should resolve to continue so*, is what I can see no reason to insist upon. Happy indeed is every clergyman that hath this power over his own will, and it is good if he so abide. But still I apprehend that a married man might make altogether as good a Chaplain to these ladies; and if he lived with his wife in a little house near them, it might be to the full as well as if he lived among them without one.

5. Then I think you give this Chaplain too much power in inspecting the conduct of the members and making

report thereof to the Bishop. Inspecting the behaviour *should be the business most properly of their superior lady* : and as to informations to the Bishop it is a nice and tender point as our ecclesiastical laws stand. The Minister and Churchwardens of the parish where the society shall be founded will claim the right, and exercise the power if they see reason of presenting either single persons or the whole society (Chaplain and all) into the Bishop's Courts.

So that provision is already made for the correction of delinquents against the laws ecclesiastical ; and the Ordinary can proceed upon these presentments to examinations and censures.

But reports from the Chaplain even of gross faults, will not be *legal informations*. And if they be only of slight matters not cognizable by the laws, the Bishop will have no power to censure or to interpose ; much less will the Dean, whom you by a natural mistake suppose always present when the Bishop is absent. But this is not a rule always to be depended upon in a diocese. The same interest indeed that would procure a parliamentary sanction (which you are not without hopes of) to the execution of your scheme, might provide also a remedy to all the inconveniences that may be suggested on this head, and both procure peculiar privileges and exemptions to the society, and arm the Bishop with authority to exercise a proper government. But whether these things can be hoped for, as times now are, I had rather leave you to judge than make any attempt to explain myself.

And now asking your pardon if I have offended you in any thing that I have said, and intreating you to take this my freedom with you in that good part in

which it is meant, I conclude (as it is time I should after giving you so much trouble) with due respect and wishes of success to all your good designs, &c.

T. SHARP.

Reverend and Dear Sir,

I take your's of the 24th as a very great compliment. The pains you have been pleased to take at the request of one so much a stranger to you, is indeed at once an instance of your goodness and of your regard to the subject about which he takes the freedom to ask your advice. The scheme I must own does in many things not appear to your mind, and I shall forbear to mention here what occurs to my thoughts for supporting it in a great part, since I am not without hopes of having the pleasure to pay you my duty sometime this ensuing summer at Rothbury, if the Lord will, where we may have the opportunity of conferring at length of the matter which seems not so fit to be considered in the way of an exemplary correspondence.

Meanwhile I think it incumbent upon me to answer the question here which you look upon as a material in the very introduction. The project as it was sent out to you had been communicated to a few judicious and well-disposed confidants of both sexes, who were pleased to think well of it, and approved of the purpose of laying it before you for advice. Now, Sir, that you have condescended so far as to take it in most of its articles into your grave consideration, though I must beg leave to dissent from your opinion in some of your remarks, yet I cannot but acknowledge you have done it an honour

which a poor though perhaps a well-intended scheme, did not deserve at your hands, since there appears so many weighty scruples to you about it. In consequence of this you may safely presume it is by no means expected you will expose this humble suggestion to any person, not of your strictest confidence, much less to the Right Reverend your Bishop. It would seem you labour under some mistake, of which you may be undeceived if you please to advert that the ladies of this country are not under the dominion of melancholy, for gratifying of which you suppose the scheme to be calculated, nor was it projected that *they* should make up the whole or even the greatest part of the happy number, but it was rather hoped that some of the worthy persons of that sex and degree in your parts would some time or other embrace the favourable opportunity of retirement, when wisely concerted upon a model, whereof I took the liberty to transmit you an imperfect hint, to be by your advice either approved or rejected. Pray give me leave to acquaint you that the author of it had never seen Mr. Stephen's project on this head, nor the serious Proposals of a Lady, nor Sir George Wheler's Protestant Monastery, so the schemist himself must bear the blame of what may be amiss in his proposals. He could not without some degree of vanity have expected a parliamentary sanction to be given to a draught so *rude* as his, but after concerting such a project in general with *mature* and solid deliberation, he wanted not some faint hopes as he had humble wishes, it might in a proper season receive the benefits of it. You are by this time I suppose weary of reading the scribble of one in the 74th year of his age, and I beg your pardon for the trouble it gives you. Let me only add a line or two more

earnestly intreating the assistance of your prayers at all times, more especially on occasion of the most solemn devotions of your excellent church, now near at hand.

I am,

Dear Sir,

With unfeigned sincerity,

Your much obliged

and humble Servant,

WILLIAM CUNNINGHAME.

Edinburgh, March 31, 1737.

MONUMENTAL INSCRIPTIONS

OF THE

FAMILY OF SHARP.

MONUMENTAL INSCRIPTIONS,

§c.

JOHN SHARP, ARCHBISHOP OF YORK,

Primate and Metropolitan of England.

Born, 1644.

Consecrated, 1691.

Died, 1713.

The Epitaph, written by Dr. George Smalridge, Bishop of Bristol, is placed on the Archbishop's Monument in York Minster, and inserted, Vol. II. page 93.

REV. SIR GEORGE WHELER, KNT. D.D.*

Buried in St. Mary's Chapel, called the Galiley, in Durham Abbey. His Monument is placed at the West End of the Cathedral, on which is the following Inscription.

Hunc post parietem conditur
Quod Mortale fuit Georgij Wheler

* Father-in-law to Dr. Thomas Sharp, the author of the *Life of his Father the Archbishop*.—*Editor.*

Equitis Aurati, S.T.P.

Rectoris vigilantissimi Ecclesiæ de Houghton,
Hujusce Ecclesiæ Canonici Meritissimi.

E Stirpe Generosâ, inter Cantianos oriundus
Bredæ tamen inter Batavos natus.

Parentibus ob Regiam causam egregie exulantibus

Prima Literarum Tyrocinia,

Inter Lincolnenses Oxonij posuit.

Deinde doctissimo Medico Sponio Comite,

In Italiam, Græciam, Asiamque profectus,

Antiqua rerum Monumenta Christiana, profana,

Tantum non exhaustit.

Reversus ex illustri Granvillorum Stirpe natam

Filiam Tho. Higgins, Mil. ad Venetos legati

Formâ, Virtute, Pietate, insignem

Duxit; e quâ numerosum suscepit Sobolem.

Post brevi a Serenissimo Principe Carolo II.

Equestri Titulo ornatus

Contranitentibus licet Suis

Sacros ambivit Ordines,

Maluitque in Ecclesia Servire

Quam in Aulâ Splendescere.

Per totum Vitæ Cursum,

Munificentia in Literaros,

Humanitatis in Hospites,

Charitatis in Pauperes,

Singulare dedit Exemplum,

Pietatis, divinique Amoris rarissimum.

Ecclesiæ Christianæ ritus, mores, et dogmata,

Haud quisquam vel laboriosius indagavit,

Vel Studiosius Sectatus est,

Vel melius calluit,

Fidei primævæ in scriptis Assertor,

Disciplinæ in Vita æmulus.
 Objit 18. Cal. Feb. Anno Domini 1723-4.
 Anno Ætatis 74.
 Hoc Marmor exstrui curavit
 Filius unicus superstes Granville Wheler.

Translation of the foregoing Inscription.

Behind this wall lie the mortal remains of SIR GEORGE WHELER, Knight, D.D. a most diligent Rector of the Church of Houghton le Spring near Durham, and a most deserving Prebendary of this Church. He was descended from a Noble Family in Kent, but born at Breda in Holland, when his Parents were in noble Exile for the Royal Cause. He laid the first rudiments of his learning at Lincoln College in Oxford, and afterwards travelled with the learned Physician, Count Spon, into Italy, Greece, and Asia, where he almost exhausted the monuments of ancient learning, both Christian and prophane. After his return he married the daughter of Sir Thomas Higgins, Knight, the Venetian Ambassador. She was descended from the illustrious race of the Granvilles, eminent for her Beauty, Virtue, and Piety; by whom he had a numerous offspring. A short time after he was knighted by that most serene Prince, King Charles the Second, and, contrary to the efforts of his friends, he entered into Holy Orders, choosing rather to serve in the Church, than shine in the Court. Through the whole course of his life he gave a singular example of munificence to the learned, of courtesy to strangers, of charity to the poor, and a most eminent example of piety

and charity divine. Scarce any one ever took more pains in tracing out the rites, manners and opinions of the Christian Church, or followed them more studiously, or understood them better. He maintained the primitive faith in his writings, and was a strict disciplinarian in life. He died on the 18th of the calendar of Feb. in the year of our Lord 1723-4, in the 74th year of his age. His only surviving Son, Granville Wheler, Esq. erected this Monument to his Memory.

Family Monument under the West Window in Durham Abbey (Erected by Catharine Sharp, 1816,) Executed by F. L. Chantrey.

Sacred to the Memory of THOMAS SHARP, D.D. Son of John, Archbishop of York. He was born Dec. 12th, 1693. Married, June 19th, 1722, Judith, Daughter of the Rev. Sir George Wheler, by whom he had fourteen Children. Died in 1758, and was buried at the West End of the Cathedral Church of Durham, in the Chapel called the Galilee.

He was eminent not only for Piety and Prudence, but great learning and critical judgment.

He distinguished himself in the Hutchinsonian controversy, in which his accurate knowledge of the Hebrew tongue gave him a decided advantage over Mr. Hutchinson and his followers. His Tract on the Rubric and Canons of the Church of England is highly esteemed, as indeed are all his Charges to the Clergy of Northumberland, over whom he presided many years as Archdeacon.

Note—He was a Prebendary of the Cathedral and Collegiate Churches of York, Southwell and Durham, Rector of Rothbury, and one of Lord Crewe's Trustees.

Sacred to the Memory of JOHN SHARP, D.D. the Eldest Son of Thomas and Judith Sharp. Born, March 21st, 1723. He married Dec. 4th, 1752, Mary, the Daughter of Dr. Heneage Dering, Dean of Ripon, by whom he had one Daughter, Anne Jemima. He was a Prebendary of Durham, Archdeacon of Northumberland, Vicar of Hartburn, and Senior Trustee of the Estates of the late Nathaniel Lord Crewe, Bishop of Durham, whose Charities he was indefatigable in promoting, having repaired and roofed the old ruined Tower of Bamburgh Castle, at the joint expense of himself and his brother, the Rev. Thomas Sharp. He trod in the steps of his excellent father, and was eminent for learning and piety, and for exemplary attention to his duties, both in his Church and in his Archdeaconry. He died in April, 1792, and was buried in the Galilee.

Note—He was appointed Curate of the Perpetual Curacy of Bamburgh, on the death of his brother Thomas, 1772.

And in the same Place were also interred the Remains of JUDITH, Wife of the said Dr. Thomas Sharp, and Daughter of the Rev. Sir George Wheler. Born 1700, Died 1757.

Of MARY, Widow of the said Dr. John Sharp, and Daughter of Dr. Heneage Dering. Born 1720, Died 1798.

Of ANNE JEMIMA, only Child of the said Dr. John Sharp, and Mary his Wife. Born 1762, Died 1816.

Of JUDITH SHARP, Sister of Dr. John Sharp. Born 1733, Died 1809.

In united Remembrance of whom this Marble is inscribed by the only Survivor and Grand daughter of Dr. Thomas Sharp, Catharine Sharp, 1816.

Written by the REV. HENEAGE ELSLEY.

MONUMENTS IN WICKEN CHURCH,
NORTHAMPTONSHIRE,
(*Five in Number.*)

Here lies

JOHN SHARP, Esq.

Eldest Son of Dr. John Sharp, Archbishop of York.
He served his country and her late Majesty Queen Ann,
in several Parliaments, and at the Board of Trade.

He was a polite Scholar,
An accomplished Gentleman,
A most affectionate Husband and Father,
A true Friend, and a desirable Companion.
Beloved and esteemed by all who knew him,
He died much lamented at Grafton Park,
March 9, 1726. Aged 49.

Note—The Archbishop had only two Sons, John Sharp, Esq. of Grafton Park, as above, and Thomas Sharp, D.D. Archdeacon of Northumberland, &c. &c.

Here lies
 JOHN HOSIER SHARP,
 the only Son of John Sharp, Esq.
 Who died Jan. 6th, 1734, Aged 13 Years,
 A Youth of promising capacities
 and endeared to his Relations
 By a peculiar resemblance to his Father,
 Not only in Person, Temper, and Deportment,
 But in his Virtues too,
 Some of which he was obliged to exercise severely,
 By a painful, lingering, and incurable Malady,
 Which he bore with undaunted Resolution,
 and exemplary Patience.

Sacred to the Memory of
 ANNA MARIA SHARP,
 Widow of John Sharp, Esq. and Daughter of
 Charles Hosier, Esq. of Wicken Park,
 and Mary his Wife.

She was born Oct. the 21st, 1691, and died
 Sept. 30, 1747.

She was exemplary in every Christian Virtue, and most eminently so in a constant and cheerful obedience to her Parents, in a most faithful and affectionate regard for her Husband, and a tender and watchful care over her Children, by whom she was greatly beloved and lamented.

She piously erected the Monuments in this Church to her Husband and her Son,

But modestly omitted to mention herself.

Her affliction for their loss was followed by several years of pain and ill health, which she suffered with the

greatest patience and cheerfulness, resigned to God, and easy to all about her, preserving to the last, the most obliging temper, whereby she engaged the esteem of all who knew her.

To the Memory of
 CHARLES HOSIER, Esq.
 (Son of George Hosier, Esq. of Berwick, in the County
 of Salop),
 and MARY, his Wife,
 Daughter of Sir Edward Barnard, Knight, of Beverley,
 in Yorkshire.

He died Dec. 15th, 1750, Aged 90 Years.

She on the 1st of Aug. 1724.

They were the affectionate and beloved Parents of
 Anna Maria Sharp, their only Child,
 who lies buried near them, and who left two surviving
 Daughters,

Elizabeth, married to Thomas Prowse, Esq.
 of Axbridge, in the County of Somerset,
 and

Mary, married to James Booth, Esq.
 of Whitfield, in Herefordshire.

As a Testimony of Gratitude and Affection,
 This Monument was Erected by Thomas Prowse, and
 Elizabeth his Wife, in the Year 1758,
 when this Church was Built.

(Executed by JOHN BACON.)

To the Memory of
ELIZABETH,

Daughter of Thomas Sharp, D.D. Archdeacon of
Northumberland,

and Widow of George Prowse, Esq. late of Wicken Park,
Who died Feb. 22d, 1810, Aged 77.

This Monument was erected by her three Nieces,
Anna Jemima Sharp, Mary Baker, and Catharine Sharp,
as the affectionate expression of their
Veneration for her Character, and their
Gratitude for her Kindness.

Stranger, whose eyes to this memorial turn,
Where Wicken's sorrow points to Prowse's urn,
If grief for worth removed thy heart reveres,
Then add thy tribute to the village tears.
Oh! wouldst thou Peace should cheer thy pilgrim way,
And Joy salute thee on thy rising day,
Go, live like her, by God and man cared,
Then die like her, and be for ever blest.

Written by the REV. JOHN OWEN, of Fulham.

Three Nieces, viz.

Anna Jemima, Daughter of Dr. John Sharp.

Mary*, Daughter of William Sharp.

Catharine, Daughter of James Sharp.

* She married Lloyd Baker, Esq. of Hardwick, Gloucestershire, and died leaving issue, a son and two daughters.—*Editor.*

Note—Thomas Prowse, Esq. of Axbridge, in Somersetshire, married Elizabeth, the Daughter of John Sharp, Esq. of Grafton Park, and Anna Maria, his Wife, who was the Daughter of Charles Hosier, Esq. of Wicken Park.

George Prowse, Esq. of Wicken Park, Northamptonshire, Son of the above Thomas Prowse and Elizabeth his Wife, (the Daughter of John Sharp, Esq.) Married (his Cousin) Elizabeth Sharp, the eldest Daughter of Dr. Thomas Sharp, Archdeacon of Northumberland.

TOMB IN FULHAM CHURCH-YARD (*South-side.*)

Here lie the remains of

ELIZABETH PROWSE, of Wicken Park,

Northamptonshire,

Who died February 23d, 1810, Aged 77;

and of her Brother,

WM. SHARP, Esq. of Fulham House, in this Parish,

Who died March 17th, 1810, Aged 81.

Endeared to their Family Connexions and Society,

By an amiableness of Character which has seldom been equalled,

And to each other, by a degree of mutual Attachment

Which has never been surpassed.

“ They were lovely in their lives,

“ And in death they were not divided.”

North Side of the Tomb.

Here,
 By the remains of the Brother and Sister
 Whom he tenderly loved, lie those of
 GRANVILLE SHARP, Esq.
 At the Age of 79 this venerable Philanthropist
 terminated his Career
 of almost unparalleled Activity and Usefulness,
 July 6th, 1813,
 leaving behind him a Name
 that will be cherished with Affection and Gratitude,
 as long as any homage shall be paid to those Principles
 of Justice, Humanity, and Religion,
 Which, for nearly half a Century,
 He promoted by his Exertions,
 And adorned by his Example.

West End of the Tomb.

Here also lie the remains of
 CATHARINE,
 Daughter of Thomas Barwick, Esq.
 and Wife of William Sharp, Esq.
 Who died February 9th, 1814, Aged 73.
 The conduct of this excellent Woman,
 under the various relations of Domestic Life,
 exhibited an amiable and edifying Example
 of that "meek and quiet Spirit,
 which is, in the sight of God,
 of great price."

East End of the Tomb.

The Burial Place of
 WILLIAM SHARP, Esq.
 His Wife CATHARINE,
 and his Brother and Sister,
 GRANVILLE SHARP, Esq.
 and MRS. PROWSE ;
 of whom, respectively,
 a Record will be found, on the Sides and Head
 of this Monument.

The Inscriptions on this Tomb were all written by the
 REV. JOHN OWEN, of Fulham.

*Inscription on a Mural Monument erected by the African
 Institution of London, in Westminster Abbey.*

Sacred to the Memory of
 GRANVILLE SHARP,
 Ninth Son of the Rev. Thomas Sharp, D.D.
 Prebendary of the Cathedrals and Collegiate Churches
 of York, Southwell, and Durham,
 and Grandson of Dr. John Sharp, Archbishop of York.
 Born and Educated in the bosom of the Church of
 England,
 he ever cherished for her Institutions the most
 unshaken regard,
 while his whole soul was in harmony with the sacred
 strain—

“Glory to God in the highest, on earth peace,
good-will towards Men,”

On which his Life presented one beautiful comment
Of glowing Piety and unwearied Beneficence.

Freed by Competence from Necessity, and by Content
from the desire of lucrative Occupation,

He was incessant in his labours to improve the
condition of Mankind,

founding public Happiness on public Virtue

he aimed to rescue his native Country from the guilt
and inconsistency

of employing the arm of Freedom to rivet the fetters of
Bondage,

and established for the Negro Race, in the person
of Somerset,

the long-disputed rights of Human Nature.

Having, in this glorious cause, triumphed over the
combined resistance

of Interest, Prejudice, and Pride,

He took his post among the foremost of the honourable
band

associated to deliver Africa from the rapacity of Europe,
by the abolition of the Slave Trade,

Nor was death permitted to interrupt his career of
Usefulness,

till he had witnessed that act of the British Parliament,
by which “The Abolition” was decreed.

In his private Relations he was equally exemplary ;
and having exhibited through his Life, a model of
disinterested Virtue,

he resigned his pious spirit into the hands of his Creator,
in the exercise of Charity, and Faith, and Hope,

On the 6th day of July, 1813,
in the 78th Year of his age.

READER!

If on perusing this tribute to a private Individual,
thou shouldst be disposed to suspect it as partial,
or to consider it as diffuse,
Know, that it is not Panegyric, but History.

Erected by the African Institution of London. 1816.

Note—Executed by F. L. CHANTREY. The Inscription
written by WM. SMITH, Esq. M.P. for Norwich.

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